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agricultural bill, regional planning and governmental reorganization. Congress will have plenty to do if it produces acceptable legislation in these fields.

Hope for Labor Unity

The fact that the A. F. of L. and the CIO have actually appointed committees to negotiate with each other is more important than the harsh words spoken in their quarrel. The logic of the situation will eventually compel them, if not to amalgamate, at least to work in some harmony. It may, of course, take time to work out this logic. There are favorable factors. Industrial unions have gained such a strong foothold in most of the basic industries such as steel, motors and textiles that the A. F. of L. has no alternative but to recognize their existence and to waive any claims of craft unions over the hitherto unorganized mass-production workers. The CIO, on its part, has made no attempt to invade such strongly organized A. F. of L. jurisdictions as railroads and building trades, and probably would not attempt to do so. The actual conflict is thus narrowed to a few specific areas such as the electrical-equipment industry, the maritime workers and miscellaneous occupations not yet strongly organized. With good will on both sides it ought to be possible to adjust these disputes. The unfavorable factors are the narrow, legalistic attitude of such A. F. of L. spokesmen as John P. Frey, and the unwillingness of the old guard to agree to any settlement that might mean a loss of power for them within the organization. It is doubtful whether these obstacles can be quickly overcome.

Elections in France

The announced results of the communal elections in France have put at rest the fears that the sentiment of the country might show a pronounced swing either to the Right or Left away from the policies of the Popular Front government. Judging by the results of the local elections, the government has retained all of its support and indeed gained slightly. The three parties which together compose the Popular Front coalition gained seats in the local general councils. The Communist and Socialist Parties won new seats and the third party in the Popular Front, the Radical Socialists, lost a few, but on balance the three groups showed an advance in their position in the communal assemblies. The parties of the

Back to Internal Affairs

The President has called Congress into special session to enact domestic legislation; this may be a sign that he does not place primary importance on his gesture offering coöperation in international affairs. It was at first suggested that he was worried by the split in his support caused by the Court plan, the Black appointment, the A. F. of L.-CIO quarrel and the agricultural program. He was also bothered about business conditions. He therefore thought he could unite his followers in a foreign crusade. Those principally interested in the international situation were fearful that to call Congress in session would create embarrassing divisions about neutrality and thus hamper the President's action in his new line. The administration must have come to the conclusion, however, that the foreign venture might be even more embarrassing politically than the domestic situation, and that the main line of advantage was to pursue internal reforms, as it originally intended. For this reason Congress is to be given the chance to insist on neutrality, if it wants to do so. The emphasis will be on a wages-and-hours law, an

Center and Right, which had hoped that they might register a marked change in French sentiment away from the Popular Front when the election results were tabulated, suffered instead a total loss of nineteen seats. Out of the total number of 1,525 seats on the General Councils, the Communists, Socialists and Radical Socialists together now hold a total of 801. As far as these local elections may be taken as an indication of France's political temper, the Popular Front has received a reassuring vote of public confidence.

On the Chinese Fronts

Japanese penetration of North China went still deeper during the week ending October 26, advancing at a rapid rate and meeting little opposition except in the Province of Shansi. Kweisui, capital city of Suiyuan, a province of Inner Mongolia, fell into Japanese hands and the invaders pushed on along the railroad line to Paotow. It was reported that Japanese troops, after the capture of Tzechow in Hopeh Province, had marched westward into the Honan Province, the sixth North China province that has suffered invasion since the beginning of the undeclared war. The lack of Japanese reports on the fighting in northern Shansi lent credence to the Chinese announcement that there they had succeeded in trapping 50,000 Japanese troops. In the South, around Shanghai, where the pick of China's men and munitions are centered, the Japanese were still unable to make any substantial advance toward the city, although the fighting was extraordinarily severe. Bombing raids by both sides threatened the non-combatants living within the International Settlement, as first the Chinese swept down upon the Japanese warships in the Yangtze and then the Japanese planes retaliated with heavy attacks. Meanwhile the signatory countries of the Nine Power Pact, guaranteeing territorial integrity to China, agreed to meet in Brussels for a conference beginning October 30.

Fortune Studies Poverty

No single investigation has cost the magazine *Fortune* more money than the \$12,000 study on unemployment just completed. Its conclusions, published in the October issue, are that workers on relief are not bums, that they have had little education, that they were not fired because they were unable to do their jobs, that they do not ask for too much help and that private industry has put about half of them back to work since 1935. The survey shows, in addition, that while there is now a shortage of skilled labor, there is an abundance of unskilled workers not employed by the WPA (which, *Fortune* attests, is performing efficiently). Finally, the investigation has shown that local communities are not doing so good a job in giving direct relief to the unemployables among the unemployed as the federal government did two years ago. *Fortune* has contributed a valuable service. The method used was to "sample" representative com-

munities throughout the country by sending a field crew into each to observe, question and gather statistics—the same method it has employed in gathering data for its accurate Quarterly Surveys. The *New Republic* is pleased to have *Fortune* concur in the views about the unemployed that we have been printing (on uncoated stock) for a good many years.

Wrestling in the Mud

For many years, the sport of wrestling has been going down hill. Two decades ago, it was a legitimate contest in which brain played a part as well as brawn. Then someone discovered that large numbers of sadistically minded people would pay admission to matches in which practically nothing was barred except the use of machine guns, and rapid degeneration set in. Today, the wrestler kicks his opponent, throws him over the ropes at the spectators, dashes him to the floor from seven feet in the air, tries to gouge out an eye or break off a toe. The manly art reached an appropriate symbolic climax the other day in San Francisco when a match took place in an arena ankle deep in viscous black mud. After the first few minutes the contestants were coated like living statues, and to its other delights wrestling added a good chance of asphyxiation by mud pack. We don't know what more the promoters could do, except perhaps to spray their man-mountains with gasoline and set them afire at the beginning of the bout. We're almost afraid to mention the idea, for fear it may be adopted forthwith.

News Notes of a Week

In Florida the six former Tampa policemen on trial for the murder of Joseph Shoemaker were acquitted after Judge Robert T. Dewell had so directed the jury on the ground that the state had not proved the presence of the men at the scene of the crime, and after almost two-thirds of the evidence in the state's case had been ruled inadmissible by the court. The six men, however, still face trial on the charge of kidnaping Dr. Sam Rogers and Eugene Poulnot, who were flogged with Shoemaker on the night of November 30, 1935. . . . In reply to the attack by 150 Protestant clergymen, educators and laymen on the attitude of the Catholic hierarchy in Spain, 175 Catholic clergymen and laymen in the United States issued a public statement supporting the Church's sympathy with General Franco and charging the Protestant leaders with being "misinformed" about the character of the Loyalist forces. . . . Sir Oswald Mosley, leader of the British Fascist Party, suffered two blows to his person and prestige. The first was an actual beating when he tried to address a meeting at Liverpool; the second was the loss of a \$100,000 libel suit brought against the Fascist paper *Action* by the publisher of *The London Daily Telegraph*. . . . President Roosevelt appointed Nathan Strauss as administrator of the United States Housing Authority, in charge of the slum-clearance and low-cost-housing projects. The

appointment is regarded as a victory for the mayors and housing officials who opposed placing the administration of the Housing Act under the Department of the Interior. . . . The Supreme Court's refusal to curb the subpoena power of the Securities and Exchange Commission Act was regarded as a triumph for the New Deal program. . . . Despite the support of Governor Lehman and Senator Wagner that Jeremiah Mahoney has received in the New York City mayoralty campaign, straw votes indicate that Mayor LaGuardia is still likely to be reelected by a substantial margin.

Positive Neutrality

IN A PERIOD of international uncertainty such as the United States is now entering, the adherents of resolute abstention from war, and from courses likely to lead to war, suffer a psychological disadvantage. They are pictured as isolationists who care nothing about what happens to the human race outside the borders of the United States. Their policy is made to appear as a selfish and negative one that rejects responsibility. On the other hand, the movement to participate forcibly in world affairs is pictured as courageous action, as an expression of mature self-respect resting on a broad view and humane emotions. Much is said about uniting with the other great democracies to stem the advance of fascism and militarism throughout the world. However much risk such action incurs, it is at least a release for the emotional pressures built up as we read the news from Spain and China. Thus, whether wise or not, it is in the end likely to be taken.

The new neutrality policy, however, is not one of inaction or isolation in the true sense. It is merely conditional isolation against the trend toward involvement in war. It says to all other nations, in effect: If you fight, we do not intend to take up arms with you, and shall in that event limit our trade and financial relations sufficiently to make sure that we stay out. But it does not say: If you remain at peace, we shall have nothing to do with you. On the contrary, it leaves the door wide open to all international action that does not involve use of armed force or threats of using it. To say that it necessarily means doing nothing is to imply that there is nothing useful to be done except to rattle the saber.

There is, for instance, nothing in the Neutrality Act that prevents the United States from participating in a conference of the signatories of the Nine Power Pacific Treaty to see whether anything can be done to end the Sino-Japanese war. We could, in fact, enter that conference with much better grace today if the President had already invoked the Neutrality Act. For the one purpose of the conference that can possibly be useful is to express the concern of the signatory powers and to offer mediation. It is thought that Japan may conceivably accept mediation in order to save her face while getting out of an

adventure that is more embarrassing than she had expected. If there is a chance of this acceptance, any threat against Japan, expressed or implied, will ruin it. But our failure to apply the Neutrality Act is an implied threat. It means, essentially, that we want to be free to take one-sided retaliatory action if Japan will not accept the invitation.

It is probably too late to stop the present war by mediation, and the nine-power conference is likely to be just another ineffectual diplomatic parade. War must be prevented before it breaks out, if we are to rid ourselves of it. Such preventive measures, unromantic and indirect as they may be, constitute the only kind of action that is more than posturing. Improvement of trade relations, settlement of international monetary problems, constructive measures of all kinds that may help to avoid depressions and raise levels of living throughout the world, are the best ways to build peace. If, for instance, the Treaty of Versailles had been drawn with these considerations in mind, or if the events that had followed it had been more influenced by such a purpose, Hitler would probably never have gained power in Germany, and Mussolini, even if he had inaugurated fascism, would have had much less scope for damage. Such a course, successfully pursued elsewhere, might have been just enough to ensure the supremacy of the liberal elements in Japan. There is nothing in the policy of the Neutrality Law that prevents the United States from acting intelligently in these matters. It can be combined, in times of peace, with reciprocal treaties, monetary adjustment and all the rest. It simply stipulates that if worst comes to worst and these preventives fail, then we shall not let commercial entanglements draw us in.

The Neutrality Act means non-coöperation in war, but that is not antagonistic to coöperation in peace. There is a definite advantage to stopping our internationalism short when the fight begins. We can better wield all the power and influence we have, so far as it is capable of being wielded in a salutary way, if at the beginning everybody knows that we are not joining in the old diplomatic game of bluff and counter-bluff. Let everyone count on our aid for peaceful construction, and let no one count on it for battle.

Suppose worst actually has come to worst, and it is now too late to do anything about war except to choose sides or stay out. Is abstention then a negative policy? Does it mean selfishly preserving ourselves while others are fighting for civilization? So it seemed to many in 1917. So it will seem to many today. But actions are judged, in any realistic view, not by the emotions behind them but by their results. You cannot defeat fascism by defeating fascist nations in war. You cannot end war by waging war. On the contrary, nothing is more likely than that the United States would go fascist through the very process of organizing to defeat the fascist nations. The ravages of war are fully as horrible mentally and socially as they are in the bodies of those who are killed and maimed by it. And these

ravages are as impartially distributed among the combatants. Victory for civilization is too complex an achievement to be won by drilling soldiers and dropping aerial bombs. Whatever contribution to it we can make will be completely ruined by letting the world catastrophe spread within our borders. To keep a large part of the North American Continent isolated from this contagion is as difficult, heroic and positive a contribution to the future of humanity as can well be conceived.

Stock Market and Budget

ON THE same day the front pages of the newspapers carried accounts of a drop in the stock market worse than any since 1931, and of a budget deficit larger than expected. These two important items of economic news, though most people will not associate them, have some interconnection. Before proceeding to say why this is so, however, it is desirable to record a few passing comments on other theories.

There is a curious attitude, prevalent even among those who ought to know better, that the prices of stocks ought always to go up and never to come down. Whenever they drop, a scapegoat is sought. At the present moment the chief scapegoat seems to be the regulatory practices of the SEC. That a man of the standing of Mr. Winthrop W. Aldrich of the Chase National Bank should lend his support to this prejudice at the present moment is evidence enough that our bankers and financiers have learned little from past experience. Regardless of any possibly desirable reforms in market regulation, it is perfectly obvious that stocks rose too high before the present decline began, that a correction was normal and desirable, and that in addition the stock market is now reflecting a slump—of as yet undetermined magnitude—in business. If the market had been “broader” in letting in speculators and had given more scope to insiders, it is at least conceivable that it would have risen higher than it did and that more people would have had the opportunity to lose more money when it began to fall. For what the stock market does is not a function of how many people or how many dollars are engaged in the market, but of how equally the buyers are balanced against the sellers. In a business system that has ups and downs of profits, a market that never has slumps is inconceivable—uncomfortable as that truth may be to buyers for the rise.

The real question is what has prompted an increase in sellers and a decrease in buyers, and what has given rise to the downward tendency in business profits that produces bearish sentiment. These are complex puzzles that cannot be answered without prolonged research—except by the generality that our business order is so anarchic that it always has had recessions, and nothing has happened to it which would lead one to expect any different behavior in the future. But among the surely impor-

tant factors the bearing of government finance is one of the clearest and one of the most frequently overlooked.

The President's statement showing that the budget is still unbalanced by nearly \$700,000,000 may be thought by superficial observers to be sufficient cause. They will assume that if, by either spending less or taxing more, the budget had been balanced, business and stocks would be rising instead of falling. The exact reverse, however, may easily be true. Far more significant in the figures presented is the fact that in the current fiscal year the federal government will have a deficit smaller than last year's by about \$2,000,000,000. Last year, in other words, the government spent more than it received from taxes to a far greater extent than this year. The extra money it raised came not from the purchasing power available to the public but from debt issues financed by an expansion of bank credit. Thus the government was responsible last year for a large net increase of purchasing power. The change is even more striking, moreover, than is indicated on the face of these figures. While technically the budget for the present year is still out of balance, the receipt of social-security taxes and their investment in government bonds, together with other factors of the same kind, means not only that the deficit will be met without increased borrowing, but that there actually will be a net reduction of the debt in the hands of the public, amounting to nearly \$400,000,000. Thus for the first time since the depression began, the federal government is actually spending *less* money than it receives. From being a source of large monetary expansion, it has changed to a deflationary influence.

This trick of bookkeeping perhaps needs a little fuller explanation. The orthodox accounting theory is that because of assuming the obligation of social-security payments in the future, the government must collect money now, in the form of special taxes, to build up a fund out of which this future obligation may be met. The money collected is invested in government bonds. Because these receipts end up in a separate capital account, they do not technically reduce the deficit arising from current income and outgo. Nevertheless the fact remains that the taxes are being paid by the public and are used, not for current expenses, but to buy government securities in the hands of the public. In its economic effect, this situation does not differ in the least from having a budget surplus which is employed for debt retirement.

Of course this is only one side of the picture. The government has changed its position from that of pump-primer to that of one who is using water out of the spout. But if the pump were by this time primed, that would not create much difficulty. In other words, if private business were largely increasing its investment and spending based on borrowing from the banks, an abandonment of government stimulation would not be harmful. But the banking figures show that this is not the case. There has

been in recent months, not an increase, but a reduction, of bank loans and investments. The banks have been selling the government bonds they bought, and have not at the same time expanded their commercial loans and private investments sufficiently to make up the difference. Thus there is a decrease in the circulation of purchasing power, with a consequent business decline and a stock-market slump.

It still remains to be explained why private business is not increasing its borrowing and spending. Lack of confidence in governmental fiscal policy, caused by the prevalent exaggerated fears about an unbalanced budget, may be a factor here. But it certainly is true that as long as business does not expand, whether for lack of confidence or for other reasons, the recent change in the fiscal policy of the government must exert a marked deflationary effect. We are, in other words, experiencing the economic mechanics of a balanced budget at this very moment—without its supposed psychological benefits.

The Spanish Pawn

IN LONDON the diplomats of the European Powers have taken up once again the elaborate game of seeking a solution to the problem of intervention in the Spanish civil war. Great Britain and France have let the world understand that their patience is running short; that the time has come to decide upon a formula for non-intervention without any more delay. The sentiments are stirring enough, but the past record of the Non-Intervention Committee, since it first met in September, 1936, is so blotched that the world can have little hope for a satisfactory answer to the Spanish question as a result of the present meeting. Later the Powers agreed to ban volunteers for Spain and to maintain an international patrol around her on land and sea to prevent an influx of men and supplies from foreign countries. Promptly Italy and Germany broke the agreement with the excuse that the Loyalists had attacked their warships. Last month Great Britain and France, whose vigilance had failed to prevent the transport of huge quantities of Italian soldiers and supplies to Spain, gave up the pretense of maintaining the patrol and transferred their vessels to the Mediterranean to guard against the unidentified "pirate" raiders.

Now, with a semblance of optimism, Great Britain, France, Italy and Germany meet once again as if nothing had happened, to solve the whole problem. The contempt Italy and Germany displayed for the settlements of the original Non-Intervention Conference is tactfully ignored and the tacit assumption is made that this time the Fascist governments, if an agreement can be reached, will behave like honorable gentlemen. It is clear that by now the concern of France and England over a Fascist victory in Spain has become—if it was not from the start—a completely secondary consideration. Control of the Mediterranean, and in particular control of the

Balearic Islands, is the chief motive force behind the present discussions.

Mussolini and Hitler are engaged in causing Great Britain and France the greatest possible amount of annoyance in Spain so that they can ultimately "sell out" their interests in the Iberian Peninsula in exchange for the concessions they desire elsewhere. England and France, at the same time, are a great deal more concerned over their security in the Mediterranean than they are over what happens to Spain. To them, a victory for Franco would be a great deal less disastrous than the loss of the Balearics to Italy. The Powers are therefore involved in a deadlock, with Italy and Germany demanding more than France and Great Britain can possibly grant, and the Spanish civil war is reduced to a selling point in the larger bargaining process. The Non-Intervention Conference resolves itself into an old-fashioned game of diplomatic bluffing with unfortunate Spain and her legitimate interests forgotten as her defenders find they must protect themselves first.

The Italian offer to withdraw equal numbers of foreign volunteers, man for man, from both sides of the Spanish conflict can hardly be seriously considered by Great Britain and France. It is estimated that there are from 65,000 to 100,000 Italian soldiers alone on the Rebel side and not more than 15,000 foreigners of all nations fighting for the Loyalists. If the Fascists were to match the withdrawal of the entire 15,000 Loyalist volunteers they would still have a large Italian army in Spain. The alternative suggestion, that men be withdrawn from both sides in proportion to the number of foreign troops each has, is equally impossible. No one knows what the proportions are; there is no way of agreeing upon a ratio that would be acceptable to the partisans of either side. These are the suggestions upon which the Non-Intervention Committee has begun its work and they seem to indicate that this conference, like its predecessors, is likely to wrangle on in search of a "formula," while the Fascist powers continue to act more or less as they please in the Spanish conflict.

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What Makes Prices High?

FOR THE first time, the New Deal has come face to face with the High Cost of Living. The price rises that occurred during Mr. Roosevelt's first administration were accepted by the voters without special protest. Seemingly they were regarded as a visible sign that happy days were here again. But today there is a different feeling. The price increases of the last few weeks have brought widespread, angry complaints. Except for war and peace, the H. C. of L. is now perhaps the liveliest issue before the country. Just how important is it, and how does the administration propose to deal with it?

Food.—The price of beef is now the focus of resentment. Recently there has been a great strike of kosher butchers in New York City and northern New Jersey; in Massachusetts, Governor Hurley has demanded an investigation by the Department of Agriculture; in Chicago, butchers report a silent sit-down on the part of housewives. The food index of the Bureau of Labor Statistics tells the mournful story. Between September, 1936, and September of this year, the following increases took place: sirloin steak, 23.9 percent; round roast, 24.4 percent; rib roast, 25.2 percent; chuck roast, 28.4 percent; plate, 29.7 percent. It will be seen that the poor man's meat has had the greatest price increase.

At least in part, the price of beef is due to the droughts of 1934 and 1936. Particularly in 1934, farmers throughout the West were unable to feed their cattle, and they were shipped to the slaughter houses. How far the AAA's restriction policy encouraged this is something that will probably always be disputed. The Department of Agriculture maintains that the slaughter of the little pigs had no effect on the nation's meat supplies, and that farmers could not have kept their cattle and hogs on their farms in any case. Many experts accept this defense.

In part, the present price of beef may be due to speculators. To some observers, the erratic movements of beef prices at the Chicago stockyards during the last days of September had a suspicious cast. It now seems likely that an investigation will be undertaken by the Department of Agriculture.

Department experts predict henceforth a slow easing off in meat prices. The harvest of corn and fodder this year will be excellent. Farmers have already begun feeding cattle that should arrive in retail butcher shops about next January. However, experts hold out little hope that meat prices will drop back to their 1936 level before at least another year. With the exception of meat, retail food prices are not alarmingly high. The Bureau of Labor Statistics index for all foods has moved up only 1.2 since September, 1936.

Man-Made Prices.—What chiefly worries New Deal officials is the price of other consumers' goods. Beef prices may be regarded partly as an act of God; the prices of other goods were set by small groups of business men. According to the Fairchild index, retail prices showed the following advances between September 1, 1936, and September 1, 1937: Piece goods, 4; men's apparel, 3.8; women's apparel, 4.7; infants' wear, 2.5; home furnishings, 8.7. Fairchild's composite index, including a large number of other articles, advanced from 88.5 to 96.6. Retail sales, the country over, were slow and spotty during September of this year, and one of the reasons was high prices. If retail sales do not pick up during the remainder of October, some experts here will be genuinely disturbed over the prospects for winter.

In part, present retail prices can be laid directly to overgreedy, probably illegal, price-fixing. Many of the prices of goods we now see in the shops were consciously fixed last spring. Business men then felt pleased with themselves. During the preceding half-year, raw commodities had advanced briskly, partly because of speculation attending England's great rearmament program. Wages had risen, at least among organized workers. The stock market was behaving handsomely, and an atmosphere of boom was widespread. Apparently the greatest fear among business men, when they sat down to fix the autumn's retail prices, was that they might inadvertently make them too low.

Last spring the Robinson-Patman act was in force, and it was virtually certain that the Miller-Tydings bill was going to be passed over Mr. Roosevelt's opposition. How far are these two price-fixing laws to blame for present retail prices? Government experts hesitate to answer. There are many categories of business in which they apparently have not yet been resorted to. Such effect as they have had, however, has certainly not been in the direction of more closely figured profits and a more reasonable price level.

Economic Planning.—The New Deal has not always set its face against rapid price advances. In the early days of Mr. Roosevelt's administration, it often seemed as if he valued high prices for their own sake, without regard to whether wages and purchasing power kept step with them. Now, however, the administration seems definitely to have swung the other way. Perhaps foremost in the new group helping to shape administration policy is Mr. Leon Henderson, once economist of the NRA and now adviser to Mr. Harry L. Hopkins. As far back as the first week of December, 1936, Mr. Henderson warned the administration that increases in purchas-

ing power were being destroyed by price rises and predicted—with what now seems uncanny accuracy—that within six to eight months the New Deal would need to give serious attention to anti-depression measures. Within the New Deal group, he was promptly nicknamed Dr. Cassandra. By the following March, however, giddy speculation in raw materials, centering in London, had convinced the administration that Mr. Henderson's fears were justified. In April, Mr. Roosevelt devoted two press conferences to the dangers of high prices, incidentally causing a near-panic on the London metal market. Since then the administration has seemed permanently committed to a policy of keeping purchasing power high and prices low.

Perhaps the most significant action yet taken by the New Deal was that of Secretary Morgenthau, a few days ago, in rejecting identical bids from fourteen automobile-tire manufacturers, representing the whole industry. Twice the tire manufacturers submitted bids to the procurement division of the Treasury that were alike almost to a penny. After the second set of bids was received, Mr. Morgenthau summoned a spokesman for Sears, Roebuck & Company and succeeded in negotiating a contract that will save the government from 18 cents to \$1.65 on each tire it buys. The names of the fourteen tire manufacturers have been sent to the Department of Justice as probable violators of the

anti-trust laws. There are signs that the Treasury hereafter means to use the government's vast purchasing power as an instrument to break up price-fixing pools and to force more reasonable prices.

Control by Exhortation.—What chance has the New Deal in a fight against the H. C. of L.? In certain industries—proprietary medicines, for example—it has almost no means of influencing prices. Even in industries where the more progressive manufacturers realize the importance of maintaining large-volume sales, and would like to lower prices if they could be protected against price-fixing rivals, the government is relatively impotent. A year ago, Mr. John Dickinson, then head of the anti-trust section of the Department of Justice, gave it as his opinion that the anti-trust laws were unenforceable under existing conditions. Since then, Mr. Robert H. Jackson has taken his place and begun a number of prosecutions, but his task is heartbreakingly difficult. The New Deal's most effective weapon is still the public warnings of Mr. Roosevelt and other highly placed New Dealers. Perhaps a more valid hope for consumers is the recent drop in commodity prices and the break in the stock market, although it may be many weeks before they are heeded by the retail trade.

JONATHAN MITCHELL.

Washington, D. C.

Bringing Union to Textiles

SIDNEY HILLMAN has always wanted to organize textiles, and now he is doing it. On September 2, at a meeting in New York of the heads of the Textile Workers' Organizing Committee, he was able to say that: "A basis has been formed for organizing the whole industry."

In round numbers there are 1,250,000 textile workers in this country. Of these 400,000 have already joined the union. Some 225,000 of these are under contract. When the drive began, the United Textile Workers had only fifteen contracts in the whole industry. The number now is more than 450.

Never was a great organizational drive prepared with more care than that of the TWOC. Never have so large a number of workers in an open-shop industry been organized with less fuss and less publicity. No greater contrast can be imagined than that between the spectacular textile strike of 1934, with its flying squadrons, and the slow, quiet drive which has marked the progress of the TWOC, based on education, on an organizational campaign carried through to the last detail and on negotiations and research. The strike has been considered a last resort, to be avoided if possible.

Sidney Hillman, who is president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, has declared over and

over again that if men's clothing could be organized, there was no reason why textiles couldn't be, for many of the same difficulties were present in both industries. He has encouraged every attempt made in the past to organize textiles, and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers have contributed generously to every textile strike. Attempts to organize the textile workers have been many. The IWW, the Socialists, Communists and the A. F. of L. all tried and failed. To each attempt the workers responded, only to lose their union in the end, often amid bloodshed. Passaic, Paterson, Lawrence, Gastonia, Marion, Honea Path—each name recalls a great industrial conflict fought in vain. Now it looks as if the TWOC were to succeed where the others have failed.

The TWOC has been Sidney Hillman's child, much as the Steel Workers' Organizing Committee has been John L. Lewis's. To it the Amalgamated Clothing Workers contributed \$500,000, as the United Mine Workers did to the SWOC, and the responsible heads of the TWOC are Amalgamated Clothing Workers, just as old UMWA organizers have captained the steel-town campaigns. Both unions have met with a good deal of criticism from the rank-and-file workers, who, in many cases, have

not relished the hegemony of organizers from outside their own industries.

The TWOC had an agreement with the United Textile Workers, but from the first, Francis J. Gorman, president of the UTW, has taken no very prominent part in the campaign. The UTW was never liked by the New England or New Jersey textile workers and was none too popular in the South after the disastrous strike of 1934. Its support is considered by some as more of a liability than an asset.

On the Textile Workers' Committee are John Brophy and Thomas P. Kennedy, but the plan of the campaign and its execution are those of Sidney Hillman. As much as any labor leader in America, Hillman has the quality of a statesman. He is able to judge the split second in which an employer will make a bargain. On this aptitude for negotiating, matured by thousands of successful jousts with the employers in the clothing industry, Hillman's success in textiles has rested. Of the 1,250,000 textile workers of this country, 450,000 are in the South. Of these, 125,000 are in the union and 40,000 are under contract. Of New England's quarter of a million, 90,000 are in the union and 50,000 are under contract. The remainder are scattered through the silk factories in New Jersey, New York and Pennsylvania and through the various knit-goods, textile and rayon centers of the rest of the country.

The textile industry is one of the most confused and unscrupulously competitive industries in the country. It is characterized by low wages and child labor, employing, as it does, more than 100,000 children between ten and seventeen years of age. Thirty-nine percent of its workers are women and, in many states where laws do not prevent it, they work on the night shift.

Grouped under the name "textiles" are five industries, all in fierce competition with one another. When one thinks of textiles, therefore, one has to think of an industry split up into cotton, wool, silk, synthetic fabrics and knit goods as well as the subdivisions of the industry—thread, yarns, carpets, etc.

Rayon and synthetic-yarn workers are already 90-percent organized. An agreement with the big Viscose Company, which has 20,000 workers, was the first large contract signed by the union. The knit-goods workers have a large organization. Carpet workers are organized. About 85 percent of the silk industry is under contract, with a \$14-a-week minimum wage and a forty-hour week. This includes both the throwing and weaving divisions of the industry. The recent elections of the American Woolen Company, an overwhelming victory for the CIO, indicate that the woolen industry will soon be organized. Yarns and threads are being organized, and now the great task that remains is in cotton.

During and after the World War a vast expansion of the cotton mills in the South took place, financed mostly by Northern capital. In 1927 alone, 60,000,000 Northern dollars were invested in the Southern mills, lured there by the advertisements in

trade journals of "the 100-percent white, docile, American laborers," who were content with so much lower wages than the Northern workers. This migration of capital almost ruined a number of New England textile centers. It is Sidney Hillman's belief that you cannot have a sound industry which is cut in two. Equalizing the Northern and Southern wage scales is one of his long-time objectives.

Negotiations in so contradictory an industry had to be based on careful research. Solomon Barkin, formerly economist for the Department of Commerce, heads the research department of the union. The financial situation of every mill (its indebtedness, the strength of its competitors, its credit standing) was put on record. The difficulties arising from the anarchical state of the industry were analyzed. The sympathy or opposition of church groups, civic groups, YMCA's, etc., was noted. The characteristics of sheriffs, mayors, public officials and congressmen were recorded.

From the first a constructive program was placed before the manufacturers. Sidney Hillman pointed out that it would be impossible to pay proper wages unless the cutthroat competition could be regulated. "A floor of a minimum wage for all employers throughout the industry and a shorter work day" were the objectives. He went into the campaign preparing for a long drive, yet believing in his ultimate success. With a clear idea of what problems confronted both employers and workers, his task was not to restrict production, but to prevent overloading and to regulate the workers' hours. Part of the original plan was to eliminate the third shift and install vacations with pay.

When asked how long it would take to complete his drive, Hillman said, "Just one day longer than the last employer will fight us."

More than 500 men and women organizers spread throughout the country. Eight regional offices were established. When the Ku Klux Klan threatened to ride again and drive out the "CIO Communist foreign agitators," they found that there were no foreign agitators in the South, that all the 150 organizers were people in good standing in their own communities; church members and even quite a few ministers, led by Steve Nance, former president of the A. F. of L. of Georgia.

The recent successful strike in the silk and throwing industry shows how the TWOC works. Of all the branches of the textile industry, silk is the most discouraging. The TWOC organizers in some of the small towns found women working a fifty-two-hour week for \$6, \$7 and \$8.

The strike was called on a national scale. Hillman's first act was to have a conference with the employers in which he tried to reach some basis of agreement to stop the cutthroat competition. The workers came out almost 100 percent all through Paterson, Passaic, Scranton, Allentown, Wilkes-Barre and in the towns up the Hudson, such as Amsterdam and Yonkers. They came out and stayed out. The long months of careful planning had borne

fruit. Presently Father Haas was negotiating a settlement in Pennsylvania. Without violence or newspaper publicity, a strike of a whole industry came and went and left the workers 85 percent under contract, and the employers agreeing to a constructive program. There is a minimum wage of \$14; \$18 for weavers. The forty-hour week has been agreed upon.

The woolen industry is about to be organized in the same way. On May 1, John L. Lewis and Sidney Hillman opened the drive in Lawrence, Massachusetts, the home of the American Woolen Company and the scene of many fierce labor battles.

They arrived, observers recorded, with a new line of attack. They did not underscore *fight* like old-line organizers. They spoke instead of "opportunity." They stressed the point that workers could, under the NLRB, hope to organize without harm to themselves. "The textile industry," said Lewis, "is the basis of the largest union in the world. Aid in creating it. Dream what it can do for you." The power of the workers. The air vibrates with that idea when Lewis talks. That was five months ago. The workers have responded.

What about cotton? What about the South? The outlines of the TWOC strategy have become apparent. A long process of education has been going on in the South, an education not only for the workers but for the public. The timidity of the workers is being overcome. In the mill towns little mimeographed papers began to appear. Parade, the organ of the Southern textile workers, was published. As

each local was established, immediate attention was given to educational and recreational activities. In some places there were educational forums and workers' classes. Others got up their own ball teams or bands. Now that the groundwork has been laid, the moment has come to form more and more locals. Eight large Southern mills have just voted for the CIO. These mills employ 4,800 workers.

The march goes onward into the South. There has been almost no violence and comparatively little intimidation for so great a drive in so diversified an industry. There are a few great cotton concerns, such as Cannon in North Carolina, Riverside in Danville, Virginia, Bibb in Georgia, who have the relationship, roughly speaking, to the rest of the cotton industry that the American Woolen Company of Lawrence, Massachusetts, has in woollens. These have not yet signed up, but the encircling movement creeps on. The radio, the house-to-house canvass, the mass meetings and the talks before the community by well known people continue. Organizers repeat that the object of the whole TWOC drive is to achieve its ends peacefully; that strikes will be used only as the last possible expedient.

Will it be possible to organize the remaining two-thirds of the industry as peacefully? No one knows. Many people believe that Hillman's progress will parallel the steel drive. They organized nearly half of the steel workers and then met a Girdler. It is certain he will avoid a conflict if it is possible.

MARY HEATON VORSE.

Castilian Drama: II

The Emergence of the Unified Command

I HAVE said that the introduction of organization into the popular militias was largely the work of the Fifth Regiment, which was not organized directly by the government itself, but by a great political party. In other words, the mass recruiting of the Regular Army was a direct expression of the popular will. Almost as much may be said about the problem of the unified command, of which I am sure historians will say eventually that it emerged from the defense of Madrid.

In Spain today every political action is also a military action and every military action has its immediate political corollary. For instance, it has often been remarked by military scientists that the mistake of the Fascists lay in attacking Madrid directly in November, instead of at once attempting to cut the Valencia road and so starving the city into surrender. But this mistake sprang from General Franco's political ignorance. He seems to have thought that the Popular Front government was a mere group of political cliques, without deep roots in the people's imagination; and from this he doubt-

less reasoned that a determined blow would disorganize the city's resistance and give him an easy victory. Quite the contrary occurred; compelled to defend their own city, which to the Castilian mind was almost a personification of Spanish tradition, the populace came together in a blazing enthusiasm for unity. The result was, as I have said, the rapid growth of such magnificent fighting bodies as the Fifth Regiment. By the time Franco had realized his mistake and had abandoned the German tactics of von Seeckt and had tried in February to encircle the city by an offensive on what became the Jarama front, the government already possessed a *corps de manoeuvre* strong enough to foil his attack and stabilize a line. A month later, at Guadalajara, the regular army of the Spanish Republic was strong and mobile enough and possessed sufficient unity of command to inflict a severe defeat upon the enemy. Franco's error had given Madrid time to organize for defense. There were those who, in those fateful days of November, urged the abandonment of the capital city, saying that it was strategically impossi-

ble to defend it. How disastrous this policy would have been can be seen from the foregoing. In November the Republican Army was still not well enough developed to fight a retreating action in open country and almost certainly would have been destroyed. It was the time gained at Madrid and the deep-going nature of that tremendous experience which really brought the Center Army and the unified command into existence. In days to come this will become a classic proof that defeatism is always counter-revolutionary.

Those who were present in Madrid on that historic night of November 7 when the Fascist drive reached the outskirts of the city, will never doubt the truth of what I am urging. All through that night and the following day military organizers were haranguing the people in the streets and battalions were being rushed out to the lines which the civilian population were hastily digging, under the direction of the leaders of the great political parties. It was a night of renewed compenetration of the army and the people. The Fifth Regiment issued a document that might have been written by Victor Hugo, save for its stark realism. Article 1 declared that every citizen must put his house into the condition of being a bulwark in defense of Spanish liberty; Article 2 instructed the people to fill bottles with gasoline and plug them with cotton wool so that at the appropriate moment they might be ignited and flung from windows and balconies against invading tanks and armored cars. The people were asked to elect street and house committees for vigilance against Franco's boasted Fifth Column of Fascist sympathizers within the city; to prepare barricades and organize the fighting at every street corner. This document did not go unheeded. On the outskirts of Madrid and deep in the heart of the city barricades sprang up and houses were prepared for struggle. All through the night this activity continued. The desperate courage of the people of Madrid at once took new hope. There was almost an atmosphere of triumph in the city during the succeeding week.

Just at the moment when the people were once more proving that the army was theirs, the central command definitely emerged. On November 7 the government abandoned Madrid for Valencia, leaving General Miaja in command of the city's defense. He at once called together a Defense Committee including all popular parties, even those which had not direct representation in the Cabinet such as the Syndicalist Party, a split-off from the pure syndicalism of the CNT, headed by Angel Pestaña. This Defense Committee, in which the Communist Party had only two representatives, confirmed Miaja in his position as Military Chief of Defense and appointed Antonio Mije of the CP as Councillor for War, while an Anarchist was placed in charge of the organization of war industry. The urgency of the situation had solved the problem of political unity.

Battalion and committee records show innumerable cases of the identification of the people with the army. For instance, the Vallecas district of the Com-

munist Party throughout these weeks was supplying 6,000 prepared meals a day to the Sergeant Vasquez Battalion holding the lines nearest that suburb, while the battalion records show that on November 16 the men in the front line subscribed 1,400 pesetas to the Vallecas committee for this work. The size of this task can only be appreciated if one bears in mind the fact that all this food was bought by popular subscription, gathered together by foraging committees appointed for the work, prepared and carried to the lines by voluntary labor without government intervention. Or we might take another example from the women of the North district of Madrid. In this region a Popular Front committee of women spontaneously organized a collective laundry for the washing of soldiers' clothing; this laundry functioned without pay until February, when it was taken over by the government. Many more examples could be given of how military functions were performed by civilian bodies, so that it is difficult to see any definite dividing line between the army and the people. At the apex the Defense Committee had both military and civil functions, like those of Supplies and Public Order. Later on, it was seen that the machinery created by these Councils of Transport, War Industry and Supplies, etc., had become the basis of the corresponding specialized departments of the Regular Army.

Franco did not abandon his mistaken tactics with any clear-cut decision. It was noticeable throughout December and January that it was the flanks or extremes of his narrow Madrid thrust which received most reinforcement, as if he was trying to effect a pincer movement in the immediate vicinity of the city. This itself gave some warning to the Defense Committee. Finally, on February 11, the Fascist general launched a three-armed attack from Pinto, the northern thrust of which was in the direction of Vaciamadrid, the center thrust being against Arganda, while the third was aimed at penetrating the Tajuña Valley in the direction of Perales. At Vaciamadrid, nearest to the capital, the offensive was held, while at Arganda the enemy came within half a mile of the Valencia road; in the Tajuña thrust he succeeded for a few days in crossing the hill crest above Morata. However, by flinging into action the International Brigades, which had already played so large a part in the November defense, as well as the newly formed Fifteenth International Brigade, and placing round these the finest Spanish regiments, the government counter-offensive was able to drive back the enemy and hold him along what is still the Jarama line. The important point is that Franco was held at this offensive by seasoned troops drawn from the city fronts of El Pardo, the University City, etc., and with these troops came unquestioning acceptance of the command of General Miaja. Thus, the central command in this region was definitely a result of the successful resistance at the gates of the city itself. Although General Miaja's post was not in itself the creation of a govern-

ment decree, he enjoyed the full authority of Valencia.

Compare this process with what happened in the case of the Supreme War Council. This Council, which was to have complete authority over every war operation on every front, was created by a government decree in the second week of December. Yet on May 14, 1937, we find the Communist Party of Spain including in its eight-point program a demand that the Supreme War Council should function normally. In point of fact, between December and May it had met only three or four times, with very meager results. During those months when the army was still being organized, the political and military conditions for the functioning of the Supreme War Council did not exist; desirable as such an organism was, the idea was a mere abstraction, out of touch with reality.

It is not only in the sphere of pure military operations that this creative power of the people can be seen; take for example the creation of a war industry in the city of Madrid itself. Remember that the objective conditions did not favor such an enterprise in the capital of Spain; there were no great industrial proletariat, few factories and only scarce supplies of raw materials; yet proportionately to opportunity a greater amount of war materials is being turned out in that city than in other places far more favored. And again we find civilian initiative as the starting point of this effort. During the month of November a commander of militia operating near Arenas de San Pedro suffered defeat as the result of a shortage of ammunition. He decided that he could be of more use in organizing the production of ammunition than as a military commander. He gathered around him a group of sixty people of various political parties and classes; among them were two mechanics who had formerly been employed in the Toledo munitions factory. They constituted themselves a shock brigade and set out to do nothing less than build up a war industry, having no factories, no machines, no material and no money with which to accomplish this enormous task. The money problem was soon solved; the middle-class members of the group giving their life savings into the hands of the directing committee. The first workshop was organized in a disused garage, taken over under the authority of the appropriate councillorship of the Defense Committee and equipped with machinery salvaged from outlying workshops in the zone of fire. Foraging parties were sent out, often being compelled to go armed because their hunting grounds were in the front line, returning with, say, a pulley, a couple of driving belts or a bar of metal. The first transport service the group possessed consisted of one small truck captured from the Fascists at the Casa del Campo. Rations, of course, were obtained by means of the card system adopted by the Defense Committee, but this was shortly insufficient because of the daily influx of new recruits. This problem was solved by begging from already har-

assed political commissars of front-line regiments.

What are the achievements of this Shock Brigade? Take the example of rifle and machine-gun ammunition. The Toledo factory had been largely equipped with modern American plant, which was, of course, too complicated in construction to be built by amateur mechanics with no machine equipment at all. However, the two Toledo mechanics were able to draw rough plans of hand-filling, non-automatic machines which they had formerly operated. These plans were perfected by volunteer engineers of the middle class and soon a rank of machines was in operation. And note, while the average daily production at Toledo on one of these hand-filling machines had been 800 rounds, the record holder in Madrid now consistently turns out more than 4,000 rounds per day.

Not only small-arms ammunition is made at Madrid but artillery shells, aerial bombs, armored cars, tanks and searchlights, besides all the miscellanea of war, such as periscopes and map-making instruments. Personnel has grown from sixty until at the present day the Shock Brigade numbers over 3,500. And again, these munition workers received no pay whatsoever from November to February. Today they are an integral part of the government war-supply service and receive a regular subvention for wages and materials.

As in all the departments, we see how the really effective instruments of war emerge from below, out of the people, and are not originally created by government decree. Nevertheless, one thing must not be lost sight of: the records show that the government was always ready to recognize sound initiative and to give every help. I must be emphatic. In all of these instances, without the aid of the government, the effort would never have been possible. It is a fascinating phenomenon which, to the military worker of any experience, is always cropping up. I remember inspecting a government military warehouse in mid-July. It was a model of organization, of a kind that would have won the delighted approval of an American efficiency expert. Everything was in its place and everything was useful. As a matter of fact, I had gone to this warehouse in order to obtain kitchen utensils for my Brigade, our food-transport truck having been struck directly by a five-inch Fascist shell. I was asking for twenty-five water barrels among other things. The barrels were brought out and I at once objected to their quality; there were no water plugs and their indifferent make showed that they would be very wasteful of their contents. The superintendent smiled and after good-natured condemnation of this "damn red-faced commissar," said: "Bring out some Madrid barrels. These, comrade, which you don't like, were made in Valencia." The difference in quality was at once apparent, despite the fact that Madrid had no appropriate supplies of wood and scrap metal had to be hammered out for the binding rings. The superintendent, perhaps not realizing how deeply

moving a thing he was saying, remarked: "Nearly all our barrels are made in Madrid and there are only eight barrel makers in the city. Every one of them has torn and festered hands and we are at our wits' end lest they go sick." An epic of barrel makers. As the Battalion of Figaros was a *chanson de geste* of the hairdressers! One could see that it was the nearness of the war which had shown itself in the excellent making of eight-gallon kegs. And on the other side of the equation a Material Salvaging Department has been set up by the government for the utilization of scrap material. Really excellent work is being done by this department in the making of such miscellaneous articles as knives, forks, cups, etc., for the army, out of old cans and scrap iron.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE NEGRIN GOVERNMENT

Despite the satisfactory condition of the Center Army, there were three problems that gave great anxiety to competent military observers; they were the problem of reserves, the necessity of preparing a series of offensives and the problem implicit in this of creating a central command for the whole of the Loyalist war fronts.

The record of the Caballero Ministry was not satisfactory on any of these three counts. The soldier in the front line no doubt has a distorted view of the problems of military organization, but as my time during April, May and June was divided between Madrid and the Jarama front, I believe I am not subject to such astigmatism. Yet, because of a shortage of reserves my own brigade was compelled to hold the most difficult sector of the Jarama front for over four months, with only a two days' break. And I know by report that many Spanish brigades had the same experience. This fact alone is a valid criticism of the Caballero Ministry. The problem seems to have required a tougher and at the same time a more agile mind than that of Largo Caballero. Conscription had already been decided upon, and decrees issued, but undoubtedly Caballero had shrunk from the supposedly difficult and unpopular task of thoroughgoing conscription. In the event, as the first weeks' activity of the Negrin government showed, the task was neither unpopular nor difficult. It merely required the elaboration of the necessary machinery. In the first month of his office, the new War Minister, Indalecio Prieto, brought to the colors more than 100,000 men, while by the end of July the government could justly claim that the army was then 500,000 strong. By the end of the present month it will have reached a strength of 800,000 troops. All the evidence goes to show that these measures had genuine popular consent and that the conscript recruits were little below the level of the volunteers in ability and willingness to fight.

In the matter of offensives there can be little argument. Not one of a serious nature had been made until July of this year. This may be inconclusive, but I am betraying no secret in saying that until the end of May no satisfactory preparations were made by

the government. Even if I had not the evidence of my senses in this, I should know it from orders which the Commissariat of War received. It is one of the tasks of a political commissar to prepare the morale of the troops for any military operation. Before the month of May, though political parties were demanding an offensive for the summer, the commissars were never given instructions to build up an offensive psychology until the middle of June, by which time it was evident that stocks of war material had been accumulated in strategic places. The fact is that the Caballero government had seriously hampered the resultant offensives of July, August and September by neglect of sufficient preparation.

About the foregoing problems there can be little political discussion. This is not so in the case of the third. The problem of achieving a nationwide strategic plan is, stripped down to its essentials, the problem of organizing the troops on the Aragon front into a regular army.

Here the difficulties were very great. In the first place, the political regiments still existed on that front; for a variety of reasons, notably the sharper political differences of Barcelona, where Catalan separatism, the existence of a mass Anarcho-Syndicalist movement (the CNT and the FAI) and extremist, confused and often deliberately dishonest bodies such as the POUM (Party of Marxist Unification) had hindered the deepening and consolidation of the Popular Front. I am not one of those who seek to throw the whole blame of this on the Anarchist movement. The early contribution of the CNT and FAI had been magnificent and there can be no doubt that they had borne the heavy brunt of the fighting in the Catalan capital. But in Catalonia, while the Fifth Regiment had been organized, it had never reached the size of its brother regiment in Madrid. And, I think, because Barcelona had never been attacked so directly as Madrid, the movement towards unity had not received a stimulus powerful enough to break down divisionist tendencies. I think this point is important, for it was the desperate condition of Madrid in November which undoubtedly helped that city forge out a regular army and a unified command.

The inactivity of the Aragon front was due, then, primarily to the continued existence of the political militia. There was, however, a secondary cause, the bad functioning of the Council of Aragon. This Council had been formed quite early in the war on the initiative of the FAI-CNT to control the revolution in that strip of Aragon which, while properly belonging to the Madrid-Valencia government, was defended by troops of Catalan political parties. There have been exaggerated charges against the Council of Aragon, but I think the following can be substantiated by detailed evidence: the wholesale application of extremist measures in land and social reform had confused and even antagonized non-Anarchist peasantry and workers; Anarchist control of village military committees had undoubtedly hampered efficient conduct of operations. I know these

are hard charges, but though there is no space here, I am prepared to advance chapter and verse for these statements. The problem, therefore, was to bring this strip of Aragon under the control of the Valencia government, as part of a campaign to reform the Aragon military forces.

The May rising of the POUM and their sympathizers in the Libertarian Youth and the extreme wing of the Anarchist movement made these problems urgent. If there had existed a regular army on the Aragon front, the rising would never have occurred. It was the partisan control of the front which enabled arms to be illegally returned to Barcelona, to be used against the Popular Front government. After the inevitable defeat of this narrow and sectarian rising, the Valencia government began to exert its authority over the Aragon front; General Pozas was sent to reorganize the Aragon army and quite early came sharply up against the Council of Aragon; despite this he made considerable progress in his work, nor did he meet with violent opposition from the Anarchist troops. During the first week in August General Lister, one of the original organizers of the Fifth Regiment and commander of the Fifth Army Corps during the Brunete offensive, was also sent to Aragon to aid General Pozas. The resultant speeding-up of the work of reorganization led to definite opposition of a petty sort by the Council of Aragon; Lister was, for example, forbidden by the Council to address the citizens of towns in which the new forces were quartered. Possibly as a result of this, on August 12 the Council of Aragon was abolished by decree of the Valencia government. Some hearts have burned at the passing of this romantic but not very creditable institution. Still, there can be no doubt that the health of the popular revolution gained thereby.

What has been the result? As I pointed out in my first article, the Catalan troops of the Aragon front now take their place in the general strategic plan. This in itself is an enormous gain, but there are secondary effects which may well prove more important than this. The creation of a real war industry has been the most difficult task of the government. Much has been done in Catalonia (the heavily industrialized region of Spain), but much more remains to be done. Formerly all attempts to solve this problem had been in the nature of political persuasion in the Catalan capital: demands by Valencia and Madrid for arms for Castilian troops. If, however, this demand comes from active Catalan troops, members of Catalan syndicates and political parties, it is likely to be much more effective.

This, then, has been the route which the Negrin government has followed and is still following. An examination of all the public documents issued by the political parties during the political crisis of May 12-14 shows that the coming of the Negrin Ministry represents the highest stage of the upward-moving impulse to national organization which I have attempted to describe. There has been opposi-

tion to the Negrin government within Spain, not only from the inconsiderable fraction of the Socialist Party influenced by Largo Caballero and from the declining POUM, but from a much more important group in the FAI-CNT. During the last week of May the Madrid newspapers CNT and Castilla Libre openly attacked the Negrin government as being counter-revolutionary. These attacks never gained popular acceptance, partly because the Spanish public knew what had been done towards the solution of the land problem (and this is the vital problem of the Spanish popular revolution), but also because of the inescapable conviction that the defeat of fascism on the military field must be the condition of any revolution at all.

The July-October offensives, although arduous difficulties have robbed them of complete success, have convinced the Spanish people. There is no use in blinking obvious facts, the fact that the CNT finally sought and obtained a conference with the Executive Committee of the Communist Party shows where the danger lay. And the fact that during this last week the Communist Party, the Socialist, Left Republican and Basque Nationalist Parties and the UGT and the CNT jointly announced their adherence to the Popular Front and support of the Negrin government is proof that the political health of Loyalist Spain is robust and unbreakable. It is from this vigor, which I have directly experienced in dealing with the rank and file of all parties, that I derive my own unshakable conviction that we shall win.

RALPH BATES.

This is the second of two articles on the growth of the Republican army.—THE EDITORS.

The Good Neighbor

Dense traffic, frequent gas, brick blocks,
A plant that manufactures locks—
Then sudden woodland, roads grown dim
With grass and branch, a broken stream
Resounding in a rocky glade:
Old farms gone back from share and spade
To birch and oak—a pretty bit.
And Mr. Pritchard rented it,
And rented an old pleasant house,
And bought a station car, some cows,
A greenhouse, and a weather-glass,
All fine degrees and shining brass;
And patched the trees with trespass signs,
Which threatened folks with fearful fines;
And now the Pritchards sit and stew
And tell the farmer what to do.

Spring stirs the wood; the crows arrive;
Stems start among dead leaves alive.
And Mr. P. is stirred to wrath
To meet a couple in the path
That lurks along the stream, long known
To couples who would walk alone.

He tries a hoarse, unheeded cough,
Then sharply shoos the culprits off.

Now buried creeps the pink arbutus;
The ferns unfurl like children's shooters;
Gray snakes, their doze of winter done,
Uncoil, still dull, to feel the sun;
The greasy green and brown of bogs
Leaps into life as little frogs—
Erects the skunk-rank mottled hood;
Wild purple iris in the wood,
And windflowers' white whose roots ooze blood.
—The Pritchards go to much expense
To fix a stiff forbidding fence,
With snarling barbs. They never dream
Two legs will wade across a stream.
Yet lo!—one day they stop and stare:
A dago picnic sprawling there,
With oranges and cheese and wine.
They hadn't understood the sign!
(Early they rose and labored late
Such clever locks to fabricate
As guarded Mr. Pritchard's gate.)
So Mr. P., to make them stop,
Put up No Trespassing in wop.

The summer trees shake down the rain;
The June-bugs bang against the pane;
The ribboned moccasins expand
Their purple, veined and phallic gland.
—And Mrs. Pritchard, blithely dressed,
Displays her duchy to a guest—
A schoolmate who has married poor—
Of undisturbed dominion sure;
When, horror! suddenly they see
A mattress underneath a tree.
What caterwauling, spitting, spite!
She had it burned that very night,
And watched it burn, and gasped and quivered,
And went to bed all faint and fevered.

And so while summer floods the wood,
The phoebe crams her crowded brood
The tree-frogs peep in forest swamps,
The yellow moths assail the lamps,
The chipmunk winks among the stones.
And all the forest throngs and drones
With comfortable undertones—
The Pritchards simply concentrate
On keeping people off the estate.

—And now a hideous thing appears:
For gradually with the years,
They keener, fiercer grow—in short,
They come to love it like a sport;
And, all unknowingly, they lay
Deliberate traps to take their prey.
They let the careful fences fall;
They leave a ladder by the wall;
They let the trespass signs grow faded
In hopes their pheasants may be raided;
And disregard a broken bar

To lure the fisherman too far.
And Mr. Pritchard haunts the stream
Where high-school youngsters come to swim—
Keeps back till they are quite undressed,
Observes brown legs and swelling breast;
Then, feeding a ferocious glow,
He makes them grab their clothes and go;
While Mrs. P. extends the chase
In many mad ingenious ways:
By calls, complaints and wild alarms.
She sniffs for pigs on neighbors' farms;
She harks for revelers; she looks
For signs of sewage in the brooks.
If anybody's dog is found
Abroad on Mrs. Pritchard's ground,
She drags it promptly to the pound.
And so, by striving might and main,
Keeps neighbors, cops and courts insane.

A lively girl, who loved to blast
Her beaux with snap and snub and snoot,
At twenty-nine she crowned at last
Poor Harry Pritchard's patient suit.
—Sorrento, angry with the guide;
The heat of Rome: an aching head;
The stench of Venice' tepid tide;
Milano—all alone—in bed.
Poor Harry, with his weather-glass,
His peaches and petunias,
Has never dreamed, to hear her scold,
That she, poor thing, like him, feels sold.
He used to think her not quite kind;
But, always timid of mankind,
He's learned at last to hate them, too;
And now he shares her point of view.

—O beaters of the winds that blow!
O damned that hate the happy so!
O dying who must nag and drive
To feel yourselves at least alive—
Who quicken with the kick that spurs
The victim's cry, the fighter's curse—
Who think your hired houses castles,
With valid moats and loyal vassals—
When human bodies, strong and bare,
Still swim your stream; when schoolboys wear
Their diamonds in the meadow-grass;
Where paths keep fresh where lovers pass—
Where planes, for whom estates are patches
By which they set their western watches,
Outsoar, outroar, outthreaten you
And all your sullen retinue!
—Poor nights that veronal allays!
Poor frenzied rage on vacant days!
Poor souls so famished and so shrill,
Cold, crippled, cruel, crazed and ill!—
They starve like you; like you they strain—
—That life you pine for but to pain;
Yet come to claim the season's good
As sure as summer to the wood.

EDMUND WILSON.

Shoot the Works

The CIO in Convention—Enough Rope for Dissenters—Martin Floppo—Lewis Backed by a Strong Infield

JOHN L. LEWIS generally gets his way in labor conventions or conferences. But the popular notion that he wins his points by steam-roller tactics is not justified. I should not care to risk my neck on the assertion that John at no time in his career ever moved up into the driver's seat and mowed them down. But in recent years, at any rate, Mr. Lewis has used quite a different technique. He can gain his ends by stating his case more effectively and eloquently than any of his associates.

Increasingly, he grows canny in the matter of timing. Particularly he has learned that generally it is much wiser to let your opponent speak than to shut him off. The chairman of the Committee for Industrial Organization carries a large coil of rope in his pocket, these days, and he is extremely generous in allowing any dissenter enough.

I have no means of knowing whether it is true or not, but rumor has it that John L. Lewis is something less than completely sold on Homer Martin, the leaping parson who heads the automobile workers. There was no open indication of this fact at the CIO conference in Atlantic City. Mr. Martin was maimed with kindness. The most dramatic discussion, and perhaps the most important, was the debate on the resolution for a peace offer to the A. F. of L. To be sure, there was no opposition to the terms of the resolution, which was read by Phillip Murray, but the original intention to keep the session secret had just been abandoned. The newspapermen were invited in and the stage was set for the various labor leaders to do their stuff not only for their fellows but for the press of the nation.

Most prominent trade-unionists profess a contempt and indifference toward newspaper stories. They maintain, with some justice, that labor very seldom gets complete coverage in America. And so they are inclined to say, "Why should I bother my head about the reporters? They're going to give me a bad break anyway."

Still, it seems to me that labor reporting has improved enormously in the last five or six years. Right now there are a dozen newspapermen who understand the subject well. A few years ago there were hardly two or three. Of course, dark continents still exist. The Chicago Tribune may be "the world's greatest newspaper," but it proceeds merrily on its way giving very slight attention to the labor movement. I refer of course to the news columns. The editorial page of The Chicago Tribune has a great deal to say about the CIO—practically all of it derogatory.

Nevertheless, hot or cold, most labor leaders read their notices with a good deal of interest. Not a few of the top men have in them at least a chemical trace of prima-donna psychology. This is inevitable. As a rule the first step by which a worker moves toward leadership is a good speech. He attracts attention in his local and then talks his way onward. An organizer almost has to be articulate.

This system of advancement by the silver-tongue route has its defects. Certain men who serve right now as the presidents of large unions have very little to recommend them

save the gift of gab. I know two or three leaders who can get up in a hall and make the most convincing sort of speech and yet fail utterly in more important executive tasks. A labor leader, like a professional boxer, may sometimes leave his fight in the gymnasium and be washed up by the time the bell rings for the final bout.

To make no further bones about it, I think that Homer Martin of the auto workers is such a leader. Even his best friends will admit that the partially reformed Baptist preacher is no great shakes when he sits in a conference as a negotiator. They still hold by him on the ground that a rabble-rouser was needed to do the spade work in a mass-production industry which was practically without organization before the CIO came on the scene. "Just wait till you hear that baby talk," has been the reply of Martin's partisans to Martin's critics.

Well, the baby was trundled out at Atlantic City and he could not very well complain about his billing or his spot on the program. He came just after Sidney Hillman and David Dubinsky and just before John L. Lewis. In a sense Homer Martin was in the position of a small-time hoofer who had finally come to his chance to play the Palace.

The conference did not afford him the easiest sort of audience. Veteran labor men are susceptible to oratory even in its more florid forms. They like the flowing phrase. Lewis himself is a master of the form. But this crowd had heard all the good ones. In the language of Variety, Mr. Martin laid an egg.

It was not so much that Homer nodded, but his audience did. Moreover, John L. Lewis began to prowling up and down behind the speakers' platform in a kind of exercise gallop before Martin was done. And that didn't help the orator too much.

Lewis closed the show. He was at his very best. And again by accident rather than intention he just about expended himself nervously and physically. He was not in the chair at the session the next day. But this situation had its good points. Phil Murray took the place of chairman and showed to great advantage. I hope that the working press became aware of the fact that the Committee for Industrial Organization is by no means a one-man team.

Many of us know what we know, or think we know, by newspaper headlines rather than by newspaper stories. And anything relating to the CIO is always expressed, as far as the big type goes, simply in terms of Lewis. I used to be a copyreader once myself and I know that this is not a conspiracy but a convenience. The name Lewis has a type count of five, since the one-and-a-half space of "w" is neutralized by the half count of "i." Moreover it is familiar American newspaper practice to translate all events into an account of the doings of some single individual or hero.

Thus, we read that Carl Hubbell defeated the Giants, and as far as the headlines go it is as if a lone lefthander cut down his nine opponents without regard to any assistance from his eight associates. Likewise the top line of, "Red Grange Runs Seventy Yards for Touchdown," was known to all sport-page fans. And even the body of the story would make small mention of those who eliminated the secondaries and demolished the safety man.

Just so, America learns through its daily press that "Lewis Wins in Big Steel" or "Lewis Is Licked in Little Steel." Out of this grows the erroneous feeling that the CIO

movement is a dictatorial expedition carried on entirely by one powerful individual.

The Atlantic City conference, it seems to me, furnished a full and sufficient answer to this misapprehension. When John L. was ailing Phil Murray was ready and well equipped to act as a capable substitute. Quite obviously the counsel of Hillman was vital and effective in handling many of the most important problems. A man named Pritchett, of the wood workers from the West Coast, made a good impression. Probably he was all but unknown to most of the men in the conference before he had his chance to speak.

Everybody had his turn. Getting the floor during periods of discussion was easy. All you had to do was to stand up, wiggle a finger, and say, "Mr. Chairman." This I know because one of the officers of the American Newspaper Guild, a small union, got in his two cents' worth at least four times. However, I was glad to observe that while he did come on too frequently, at least he kept it short.

It is my belief that anybody who watched the conference must have come away with the impression that John L. Lewis was, by head and shoulders, the most capable man in the CIO. But I think that the same observer would also take with him the impression that this leadership had been won in full and fair competition. HEYWOOD BROWN.

Washington Notes

*F.D.R. Is Still the Boss—Parliamentarianism
Breaks Down—The Anti-Lynching Plot—
Price-Fixing v. Price-Making*

IN THIS department's opinion, the most striking thing about the session of Congress that will meet next month will be its complete lack of an effective opposition group. When the last session broke up in August, Mr. Roosevelt had been unmercifully beaten, had had his face stamped into the mud. Since then we have had the episode of Mr. Justice Black, and a near-panic in the stock market, neither of which can be considered a political help.

Nevertheless, Mr. Roosevelt is still boss. There will be no group in the coming Congress that can conceivably challenge the pro-Roosevelt men. All through last spring and summer, as the Supreme Court fight dragged on its senseless, bitter way, political observers kept nudging each other and pointing to the mute Republicans. They were supposed to be showing great party discipline. The Court fight was supposed to reestablish them as a functioning party.

Now look at the Republicans. They are engaged in a wild debate over whether to hold a phantom convention before the 1938 elections. They are split into pro-Landon, pro-Hoover, pro-Vandenberg factions, with Mr. Hamilton Fish forming a private little faction of his own. They are agreed that Abraham Lincoln was a great President, but on almost nothing else.

The anti-Roosevelt Democrats are similarly disunited. Probably a majority of the Southern Congressmen are hostile to Mr. Roosevelt and his policies, but they show no signs of letting themselves be pushed into overt rebellion. In the coming session of Congress, they will work against the administration's wages-and-hours bill, and perhaps against the farm bill, while simultaneously protesting doglike devo-

tion to Mr. Roosevelt's person. In the North, Senator Copeland tried to raise the banner of Democratic revolt in the New York mayoralty campaign, and merely made himself ridiculous. Senators Wheeler and Burke are still unreconciled, but there is no way in which they can be magnified into an opposition party.

It can hardly be an accident that no anti-Roosevelt party has been created from the Supreme Court debacle. In the opinion of observers here, the answer lies in the pitiable bewilderment of business leaders. In the last year, some of the greatest American corporations—U.S. Steel, General Motors, Chrysler, General Electric, Radio Corporation—have come to terms with the CIO. Since these agreements exist and are functioning with a fair degree of smoothness, should the National Labor Relations Act be tinkered with or left alone? The heads of great corporations, as a group, apparently don't know. They don't know whether they are for or against the Social Security Act. Except for the Southern textile manufacturers, they don't know whether they are for or against the wages-and-hours bill. And so on down the whole list of New Deal legislation. They wish fervently that Mr. Roosevelt had never been born, and that the New Deal program had never been devised, but now that he and it are here, they don't know what to do about them. The one thing they seem sure of is that they do not intend to finance a new Liberty League.

It is pleasant to observe the confusion of the enemy. Nevertheless, this department regrets that there is no opposition party ready to go into action at the opening of the next session of Congress. While the top-flight business men seem uncertain in their attitude toward Mr. Roosevelt, there are a great many second-raters—of the Tom Girdler type—who hate him, and they ought to have a recognized, legal means of expressing their feeling. The more vigorous an opposition party we have in Congress, the less likely we are to have a fascist movement on the pattern of the recent Johnstown Citizens' Committee. There ought to be a responsible Tory party in Congress, and its spokesmen ought to be encouraged to talk their hearts out. Right now, parliamentary government has broken down. There are plenty of individual Lord Macaulays in Congress, but they seem not to have courage enough, or gumption enough, to defend the things they believe in.

Meanwhile, as long as no opposition party exists in Congress, it may be noted that the surveys of Mr. Roosevelt's popularity among the voters made by Dr. Gallup and Fortune are almost meaningless. As long as there is no national leader one-tenth his size anywhere in view, Mr. Roosevelt can be defeated by Congress and can appoint Klansmen to the Supreme Court, and it will make no difference. His popularity may fluctuate, but the fluctuations will have no more real significance than style changes in women's hats.

In next month's special session, the Senate is pledged to consider the anti-lynching bill as soon as the administration's farm measure has been voted on. It has been reported for weeks that the Southern Senators would secretly like to see the anti-lynching bill pass. They will pretend to filibuster against it, but they will take pains to see that the filibuster fails. In this way anti-New Deal Southerners hope to gain an issue to use against the administration in next year's primaries. Men who must stand for reelection—for

example, Senator George of Georgia—are said to feel that white supremacy is almost the only issue on which they can defeat pro-Roosevelt rivals. Other Southerners are reported to have more ambitious plans. They would like to capture the state Democratic organizations in next year's primaries, so that in 1940 they can take anti-New Deal delegations to the Democratic National Convention.

New Deal advisers who are anxious to see the administration undertake the regulation of big business were delighted with the section of Mr. Roosevelt's radio speech last week in which he blamed the current business recession on monopolistic price-fixing. Mr. Roosevelt publicly committed himself to a policy of competitive price-making, a position which marks an immense advance from the days of the NRA. There is little hope, however, that legislation to carry this new policy into effect will be ready for the special session, or for the session that starts next January.

Washington.

T. R. B.

Other People's Money

The Market Break and High Valuations—Long-Term Credit Lags—The SEC's Margin Rule Cushioned the Market's Fall

IT IS just eight years ago this week that people generally were reading about the big break in the stock market and the government was assuring the nation that, despite the bad news from Wall Street, all was fundamentally sound. And now, oddly, people are wondering if the collapse of the latest market is the beginning of another period of bad times. Another set of wonderers, of course, is trying to figure out if this is only an interlude in the upward surge of business and if, after a little milling about, stocks are not to go up again.

There is certainly nothing mysterious in the market break. The value of stocks as investments must rest, not upon a single season of good business, but upon the past history of the issuing corporation and the long-time outlook for income. U.S. Steel managed to get itself up as high as 126 as its top for the recovery movement which began in 1935. If any man believed U. S. Steel would ever be worth 126 as an investment, of course he was justified in paying 126 for it. But to be worth 126 the stock would have to hold out a reasonable promise of paying an average dividend of $7\frac{1}{2}$ percent over a long period. What right had any man to expect this? In the last twenty years, through a period of unequaled prosperity, U.S. Steel did not average $7\frac{1}{2}$ percent on 100 or 6 percent on 126. Because the steel industry had a good season last year some unreasoning optimists began to assume that it would continue to do that. There is certainly no prospect that U.S. Steel in the future is ever going to do again as well as it did in the past. And by no stretch of the optimistic organs can one believe that over any number of years will it average $7\frac{1}{2}$ -percent dividends. It is not worth 126. It is not worth 100. Back in 1928 when it was selling for 195 it was not worth 100. And insiders knew it. It was not worth 75. It is not worth 75 today as an investment. Invest \$75 today in U.S. Steel and, I venture to believe, the average return

on it in the next five years will not be greater than the average return on a savings-bank account. As an investment, Steel could not be worth what it was priced at. As a speculation, of course, it is always worth any price asked, provided it goes up a few points in a day or a week or a month. But that is not investment. And, while speculation makes the prices on the Stock Exchange almost all the time, the fatal moment always comes when those prices must come level with their investment values.

The market was too high. It was driven up by a variety of false tales of a coming boom. And now it is paying the inevitable price—which is collapse.

But what of the future?

The actual state of current business in the consumption and distribution industries is hardly such as to produce any grave concern. But the industries which operate on long-term credits—the construction industry principally—have failed utterly to stage the revival which was looked for at the beginning of the year. What is more important, private long-term credit has shown no life whatever. In fact in the last few months the feeble energy shown by new-money security issues seems to be all but extinguished. So that now we have both private and government borrowings falling off (the federal government borrowed a billion dollars less since May this year than last year).

If this weakness in long-term credit issues continues there is nothing less than a general tapering off of business activity due. This is not pleasant news but it is the fact. As to the market, there is no doubt that the first slump, up to two weeks ago, was a natural and logical one. In the last two weeks the foreign situation exercised a very depressive influence. Just ahead lies the Christmas season. This will most surely be a season of heavy retail sales. Quite possibly the market may be restored to some confidence by the burst of retail prosperity which will appear. Also, if the foreign war cloud passes again, as it has so often in the past, there may be another return of vitality to the market. But this market is a place now only for the speculator and under no circumstances for the investor. It may, and probably will, pick up again and for a while. But if it does it simply means that the collapse which will mark the end of this recovery episode is postponed a little.

Investors and speculators may thank their stars that there is an SEC and a Securities and Exchange Act. While the Commission is justly subject to criticism for its failure to deal with the great fundamentals of its job, nevertheless the margin rule, the active supervision of the market to catch manipulators, has resulted in limiting the number of speculators and the flow of borrowed money into the market and in curbing the campaigns of those operators who rigged the market in secondary distribution operations. This is what made those "thin" markets the Exchange complained of. If the markets had not been thin they would have been active, energetic, full. The prices would have soared higher. The fall now would be deeper and more disastrous.

Anyone who put his money into that market and lost it cannot lay the blame at the door of the SEC, as some are trying to do. On the contrary he can thank it. But for the Commission he would have paid more for his stock and it would have been liquidated at a lower price.

JOHN T. FLYNN.

Quito and Susan

To Quito and Back, by Ben Hecht. The Guild Theatre, October 6, 1937.

Susan and God, by Rachel Crothers. Plymouth Theatre, October 7, 1937.

A FRIEND of mine, himself a distinguished newspaper editor, has always told me that newspaper men used to writing "news" should not try to write books, meaning of course serious books. Reasons, he says, are numerous; perhaps the best is that "training to write factually may develop in time to abilities in writing descriptively." Your newsman may get that far; but he seldom learns to write revealingly and never can he learn how to write luminously. I kept thinking of these words at "To Quito and Back."

Without intending any reference one way or the other to any newspaper experience of Mr. Hecht's, about which I know nothing, I am merely saying that on his play there is a kind of bright surface that has an air of news. A great deal of talk goes on; capitalism, fascism, the people, revolution, national spirit, songs, marriage, sex, lyric and passionate and ruminative sentiments, and many other themes are touched on. Desertion, deception, disillusionment and finally death are presented for our response. And meantime all remains indomitably lively, with that cheery zip to it that professional news is sure to have, whatever its content, mild, gay or terrible. I gathered that the author's aim was often serious, but at the best he scarcely got beyond the point where he seemed to have reached descriptive ability. Descriptions of the characters, descriptions of their emotions and their drama, descriptions of ideas, causes and climaxes—there were no revealing passages or inventions, unless you credit the writing and not the acting with some of the insights that flashed out of Mr. Buloff's Zamiano, the people's general.

Having made that observation, I will make another and say that I was not bored at all during most of this first play of the Theatre Guild's season. It seemed to me I merely established a division in my mind. Here on one hand was a story and atmosphere long since familiar on the stage and in moving pictures: the shifting politics, revolutionary fortunes, the writer at loose ends with himself, the consular and foreign-investment men, and so, plus the respected motif of the wavering author, second-hand Hamlet, etc., pulling himself together in one decisive step at last and saving himself through heroic death. On the other side was a great deal of writing and talking and scattering around over pet ideas, little personal opinions and pet moods. I should gladly have been spared some of the speeches where the vivacious banality got too wearing; but I thought that lots of the play was far more agreeable than the usual theatre piece. This pleasurable response, however, depended entirely on my not having to take anything about the play seriously, above all the social, philosophic and sentimental motifs.

Miss Sylvia Sidney's part was written only in spots, but she managed to give it a certain vividness, score what points it had, and make it enough of a figure to go into a picture. Mr. Leslie Banks as the talking author (all too plainly a favorite with his own author) brought up a technical expertness, good taste and intelligence that made

most of it tolerable and some of it really entertaining. Within the glowing décor of Aline Bernstein the Theatre Guild has provided a generous production and struck a good average in casting. Mr. Joseph Buloff—this is his second role on the English-speaking stage—carried off the chief honors of the evening, but not merely because his role was the most vivid, picturesque and actable. For the most part Zamiano could remain the stock revolutionary general—Mexican, Central American, South American—we all know his traits. The freshness and subtlety of Mr. Buloff's creation will be found to lie in a veritable dance of movement that he keeps going, and especially in the uses he puts his voice to. His direction in such a role would necessarily be toward the fantastic; and I should think this would be a good tip for the whole production, to push it all toward that. This might help give it something more of truth, of the only kind of truth possible to it.

The play ends on a note—said rather explicitly and flatly—about the singing, the people's songs, the song that will not die, that when the revolution comes again will fill the world with marching. I should think it would pick things up if, instead of what we have at present—some singing off-stage and the lines about the songs and singing—we saw the characters go on talking while from out the air, beside us, around us, a song swelled out, fuller and fuller, drowning all, carrying all. Mechanically this would be easy. It would make use of legitimate theatre medium, and would create for the last curtain a genuine theatre image.

"Susan and God," Miss Crother's latest work, provides a delightful, literate evening, a play with plenty of stage technique to get along well and much of the novelist's addition in the best sense. Best sense here means no evasion of theatre patterns and creative stage symbols and images. It means an addition of that fuller explanation and insight that we are more used to finding in even passable novelists than in Broadway playwrights. The subject of "Susan and God" is the struggle of a woman who has been spoiled, allowed to travel, bumped by destiny into Lady Wiggam, the new God-agent—really a version, gently done, of the Oxford Movement—a religion of confessionism, mutual improvement or salvation, and God. Lots of God.

This woman (Miss Gertrude Lawrence) comes back from Europe filled with a new peace, exaltation, nerve and private intrusiveness. She does indeed perceive and mention many things that affect the lives of others, her old friends mainly. Meanwhile her daughter is sequestered in a girls' school and then a camp; her husband—who is in love with her—has turned to dipsomania. It would be a mistake, I am sure, to consider, as some of the play's spectators have done, her religious change as sheer hypocrisy. We should say rather that the new cause has appealed to the best of her, and to the worst of her. Through this fact the concluding point of the play becomes significant, profound, charming and rightly theatric. In the end she finds, through the poignancy and devotion of living reality and devoted relationships, that God is within us, not in meetings, exhibitionistic confessions and Newport conventions. And thus we have a genuine ending for a very good play, well cast and well done.

Miss Gertrude Lawrence gives a brilliant performance, outwardly jumpy, tricky and entertaining but with a real inner consistency and drama. Now and then it could be simplified, but not often. Mr. Paul McGrath, coming late,

through the death of Osgood Perkins, into the leading role of the husband, has every inward quality and faith required, a presentation not yet quite at ease but at bottom fine.

STARK YOUNG.

Through the Looking Glass

I DON'T know where you will find so much delight and unspoiled entertainment as in the RKO picture, "Stage Door." The title, which they have scrupulously kept intact, once belonged to a chore Edna Ferber and George Kaufman did for Broadway. The play had some stage people for characters and a moral about how, for a *real* actress, Hollywood was a fate worse than death. It had quite a run and so the movies were happy to buy it. Then apparently they read it, and some smart producer put Morrie Ryskind and Anthony Veiller to work writing a picture around the title and Gregory La Cava to work directing the finished script. And the result is one of those miracles in celluloid.

The outline is simple: a school for girls with a theatrical-boarding-house background. There is the little hoyden with the stout warm heart; there are the girl with a sensitive talent on the down grade and the girl with the rich poppa riding her high horse; there are comradeship, cat fights and the subsidiary play of gossip, rivalry, boy friends, meals, openings for work—in short the process of life going on. In the relationships of four or five of the girls and the producer, the main story is carried forward simply to the point where the one who should have had the big part goes weak and deranged from hunger and walks through the window on opening night, and the smug one who actually got the part makes her entrance through a sudden knowledge of her own wooden deficiency and the sight behind her eyes of that wronged, crumpled figure lying in the alleyway.

The story as written belongs in the department of the true and trite; but I think most of us are agreed by now that the difference between the bound book and the experience is precisely the vital stuff the theatre is made of, that even the simplest story can be so presented by actors and direction and living background that the emotional experience of those who follow could not be duplicated by anything short of some great long novel. As the girls sit around in the boarding-house parlor, swapping thrust and riposte and grousing about the stew, their lines and habit of living are undoubtedly both more brilliant and more warmly generous than life. But these reservations are not a part of the theatre experience. All that counts is that while this picture is being reeled off it is humanly lovely, bright and sad and true, that any overdose of either brilliance or easy simplicity is carried off in the happy stream of the thing before your eyes. It is temperate with wisdom or perfectly ripping, at its own discretion.

What with Katharine Hepburn, Ginger Rogers, Andrea Leeds, Constance Collier, Gail Patrick, Lucille Ball and all the others, it is a long time since we have seen so much feminine talent so deftly handled. When you think of Miss Rogers' former song-and-dance appearances, it seems as though this is the first chance she has had to be something more than a camera object and stand forth in her own right, pert and charming and just plain nice, her personality flexible in the actor's expression.

Andrea Leeds as the girl who starves has an arriving talent and a persistent gentle sweetness that puts the story much in her debt; and all around, from Constance Collier's veteran job on the elocutionary biddie to the singing housemaid and the dancing partner with the come-back and the little unsung heroine who marries men from Seattle, and Grady Sutton, and Adolphe Menjou, who drives the meaning and effect of the Broadway-producer part right down through the wood, countersunk.

About Katharine Hepburn, it has been recently fashionable to wink, pull a face, and *poor* Kitty and tsk tsk tsk, Hollywood has ruined her and of course she never was more than a couple of mannerisms and a hank of hair to start with, *poor Kate*. As the spoiled rich girl she comes into this story cold, playing across the grain of audience sympathy. But she is the girl of that awful first night, and there is felt through her as she comes on that tension of the inexorable rising curtain and first cue, when the actor is isolated within the range of his own devices and inner terror. And the effect in the audience is one of difficulties falling away in a command, faith and purity of feeling that leave no room for a doubt or question anywhere.

The point of the story (oh wide and subtle revenge on tailormade wisecrackers) is the bias, cruel ignorance and commercialism working behind stage productions, as it works in any art. But mainly it is just happy in its story and boarding-house routine—the girl with the cat, for example, wearing it draped around her neck and telling it (when the Perfect Lady shows up in a gorgeous fur): "Get a load of that, Henry; that's where *you'll* wind up," or (at the dinner bell): "Let's go in to the stew, Henry; you might find a mouse in it." And the direction is sometimes inspired, for even leaving out scenes of climax, you get a really first-class play of motion in such scenes as the one where the two girls are at each other's throats in the producer's penthouse, and he trying to square it with each of them, and poor Franklin Pangborn in and out and across corners like a bobbin, doors slammed in his face and harsh words spoken, the most baffling moment of his career. But although memory plays around the words and scenes of these minutes in the theatre like blue flames around a Christmas pudding, quotation in example is misleading, the bare words of a report robbing the natural freshness of the actual thing in its context and film pace.

The people in action are the living matter of this piece; yet the idea and fulfilment of it, the direction, camera and cutting had to come first. And however we analyze, the sum of its parts is one of those things we have to catalogue under the term Miracle, so little we know of it. The miracle happens when everybody concerned seems in sympathy with everybody else's intention and gives it play, each gaining in personal achievement from the common inspiration. Between its extremes of making you laugh and tearing your heart out and altogether beside what meaning it has, this picture is in touch with its audience at every point, it seems to grow along with them and they with it. And in this easy proximity the mechanical voice and flat half-tone screen drop away like the dimensions in a stereopticon; and an audience of millions leaves its private life to take part in this hour or so of life recreated, passing as though through the looking glass.

OTIS FERGUSON.

The Bandwagon

It is important to use our military forces to the utmost so that China will realize her foolish delusion early. The principle of international justice lies in sacrificing everything for national honor.—*The Nippon Tokusho Shimibun, quoted in The Japan Times.*

Any person soliloquizing cannot be interfered with, providing, of course, his remarks are not overheard.—*One of two exceptions to the recent law making adverse criticism or insulting remarks about Chancellor Hitler a punishable offense.—Berlin dispatch to The New York Times.*

Harry W. Colmery, National Commander, found it necessary to warn the rank and file [of the American Legion] that they must not wear uniforms or regalia while participating in vigilante and strikebreaking movements.—*News item in The New York Times.*

LET 'EM SHOOT MOTH BALLS

Dr. Bessie Burchett, West Philadelphia High School teacher, proposed last night that school children be taught how to shoot so that communism can be wiped out in this nation.

The teacher addressed the Anti-Moth Ball Society at St. Stephen's Episcopal Church, 10th and Ludlow Streets. . . . "I want you to form clubs for boys and girls, and I will

take them to my farm in Bucks County for instruction in patriotism and shooting."—*From a news item in The Philadelphia Record.*

THE GREEKS HAVE NO WORD FOR IT

The Greek Minister of Education has appointed a Commission to revise the Greek classics, expurgating all references to liberty and democracy. A certain difficulty is being experienced with Aristotle and Plato, but it is anticipated that this will soon be resolved.—*News item in The Week (London).*

FEB! FIE! FO! FUM!

Through all the clamor of monster demonstrations, of marchings and counter-marchings, of oratorical displays and singing of songs one seems to hear the heart cry of the German people, "Why doesn't England try to understand?"—*The Viscountess Snowden, quoted in The New York Times.*

ANCIENT ORDER OF ANTI-RAINMAKERS

Hourly prayers for Dry Votes will be offered in the Presbyterian Church here tomorrow as Leon County ballots in its second Wet-Dry election since prohibition repeal.—*From a Tallahassee, Fla., dispatch to The Tampa Daily Times.*

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column and \$1 will be paid for each item used. Address The Bandwagon, care of The New Republic.—THE EDITORS.

C O R R E S P O N D E N C E

A Prayer for Heywood Broun

SIR: Heywood Broun is saying a lot of things these days about a lot of people. Is it not time that somebody said something about him?

By what authority does Heywood Broun use agreement with his own personal opinions on public questions as the ultimate test of all character, intelligence and virtue in other men? When and by whom was Heywood Broun given the keys of the liberal heaven? Why should we accept his assertion that all who are with him are angels of light, and all against him demons of darkness? It seems to me that the Pope of Rome in his claims to infallibility is a shrinking violet as compared to Heywood Broun's full-blown sunflower of egoistic self-assurance.

I used to enjoy Heywood Broun when he took himself no more seriously than other people. He was then kindly, wise, and, in his moments of righteous anger, impressive. Now that he has become a mimic Jove hurling the thunderbolts of divine judgment from on high, he is a little ridiculous and far from admirable. It is because I feel so indebted to Heywood Broun for years of genial companionship and keen intelligence in his various columns, and so love the man for his unimpeachable sincerity and devotion and for his unselfish service of many fine causes, that I am waiting patiently for the time when, like the Prodigal Son, he may "come to himself."

New York City.

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

Michelson and Black

SIR: My feelings and prejudices are not involved in this. It is merely a matter of editorial technique:

When you maintain that it is okay for Charles Michelson to have a private radio job while he is associated with the federal government [The New Republic, August 11] you try to show that there

is no reason to assume he will confuse the jobs or act with a motive not in the public interest. Maybe so. What you mean is that Michelson's a good guy. But your reader immediately wonders if The New Republic would give the same benefit of a similar doubt to a Republican textile boss acting in association with the government. Your reader knows right well you'd make no such tortured effort.

In "The Case of Mr. Justice Black" [The New Republic, September 29] your editorial methods are equally mealy-mouthed. The fact is that if Black took that Klan oath with his tongue in his cheek and has since behaved himself like a good radical, he's still quite undependable on the Supreme Court. The least charitable of us would forgive him, if it were a crime for which he is being tried. But that's hardly the issue. It's hardly a standard to set up for a Supreme Court Justice. You want him to "continue the fight against special privilege" but your editorial attitude seems quite naïve. What you mean, again, is that in your liberal heart you feel he is a good guy and you're trying to find logical means to uphold him. That's a bad editorial method and I doubt if you will fool your readers.

New York City.

WILLIAM SOSKIN.

[We do not think it good policy for Mr. Michelson—who is not in the federal government but is associated with the Democratic National Committee—to have also a private radio job at the same time, but we do not think it fair to conclude in advance that he will use his influence with the government to boost the interests of his employer. Our attitude in regard to Mr. Justice Black was further explained in an editorial published after Mr. Soskin's letter was written. We regret, of course, that Mr. Black joined the Klan. We believe, nevertheless, that on the Court he will not act like a Klansman.—THE EDITORS.]

From The New Republic Mailbag

Richard Oberlin of Akron, Ohio, tells us of the exciting mayor-alty campaign in his city, where the A. F. of L. and CIO unions have joined forces to support a slate of labor-endorsed candidates, headed by G. L. Patterson as their choice for mayor. . . . M. H. Sawyer of Honolulu, Hawaii, disagrees with Ernest O. Hauser's analysis of the important factors in Japan's situation which he discussed in "Japan's Last Chance" (September 1). "The real demon," Mr. Sawyer writes, "is merely mentioned in passing: 'Some five families of fabulous wealth . . . hold a monopoly of industrial production, trade, banking and transportation.'"

Henry R. Wilson of San Diego, California, a World War veteran but not a member of the American Legion, thanks The New Republic for our editorial paragraph, "The Legion Comes to Town" (September 9). . . . William H. Allen, director of the Institute for Public Service, New York City, points out that the statement about New York reform administrations' failures in the past to succeed themselves in office (In "The Little Flower of City Hall," by Bruce Bliven Jr., October 13) needs clarification. Reform mayors have failed to be reelected in the past, but reform departments have sometimes succeeded themselves. . . . Professor Charles S. Collier of George Washington University, Washington, D. C., writes, concerning the editorial "Embargo Means War" of October 6, "The horror of force which you exhibit with regard to international relationships would, if carried into the sphere of civil life, produce social chaos and complete economic disorganization."

Joseph N. Leinbach of Lynchburg, Virginia, says he thinks the addition of Heywood Broun to the editorial staff of The New Republic is "safe and American on the best constitutional grounds," despite Mr. Heinrich's letter in the issue of October 13. . . . Morris Berzon of Boston, Massachusetts, who says of Mr. Broun, "His vitriolic pen has satire, sarcasm, ridicule, caricature and astuteness," nevertheless disapproves of his "imaginative fancies." . . . We have received two letters in the past week from Massachusetts about the Special Legislative Commission investigating Communist, Nazi, Fascist and other subversive activities. Mrs. Eleanor Whitney Morse of Belmont, Massachusetts, writes, "When a state becomes that afraid of the criticism of its citizenry it is on the way to dictatorship—the one minority of which it should be truly frightened." . . . Reverend F. Hastings Smyth of Cambridge, Massachusetts, sends us a copy of a statement signed by a number of prominent citizens, which suggests that the Committee should be careful not to spend so much time and money on its investigation of Communist activities that there is none left for investigating the Fascists and Nazis.

What's on the Air?

Harry Anslinger, Commissioner of Narcotics for the Treasury Department, is interviewed by Mrs. Hereford Dugan on "Marijuana and Crime," on a program in the series called "Fighting Crime," Saturday, October 23, 6:45 P.M., CBS.

William Kiplinger, Washington news-letter editor, and Dr. Neil Carothers, economist and director of the College of Business Administration, Lehigh University, speak on a program which also includes symphonic music by the Philadelphia Orchestra, Monday, October 25, 9 to 10 P.M., NBC-Blue Network.

Harry R. Daniel of the United States Department of Commerce talks about "Glass" on one of the programs in the series entitled "The Story of Industry," Tuesday, October 26, 4:30 P.M., CBS.

Musical programs of the week include the Cleveland Orchestra with Artur Rodzinski conducting, Saturday, October 23, 9:30 P.M., NBC-Red Network; the first in the fall series of broadcasts by the Philharmonic Symphony Society of New York with John Barbiroli conducting, Sunday, October 24, 3 P.M., CBS; "I've Got the Tune," an opera for the radio by Marc Blitzstein, Sunday, October 24, 8 to 8:30 P.M., CBS; the Rochester Civic Orchestra conducted by Guy Fraser Harrison, Monday, October 25, 3 to 4 P.M., NBC-Blue Network and a concert by the Eastman School of Music under the direction of Howard Hanson, Tuesday, October 28, NBC-Blue Network.

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

Why Reconstruction Failed

JAMES S. ALLEN has written an honest and in many respects a thoughtful book on our Reconstruction period.¹ Working in source materials directly and employing all the outstanding monographic studies, he has drawn up a credible account of the history of an epoch whose significance American historians have always tragically misunderstood. Simply to characterize the Reconstruction period, as almost all American historians have, as an "age of hate"—to assume that a band of depraved men, using the credulous and ignorant Negroes as their tools, were seeking sadistically to crush a brave and fallen foe—is to leave us in the dark concerning the historical meaning of one of the most important events in recent times. Mr. Allen, even more completely than W. E. B. Du Bois—whose work on the Reconstruction era published in 1935 was marred by too many fanciful flights—has sought to redress the balance. Fuller investigations are still required before the whole fateful period can be regarded as being thoroughly illuminated. However, Mr. Allen is to be commended for his own original researches into the problem of the Negro and the land question.

What is the heart of the story of the Civil War and Reconstruction—for the two parts are not to be severed? It should be said parenthetically that Mr. Allen's preoccupation is more particularly with the second phase. Therefore, he does not point up as sharply as one might wish the causes for the outbreak of the struggle and the internal activities within the revolutionary party while the war was raging. For the purpose of indicating the essential unity of both phases I am giving the analysis of the first period a clearer outline and ideological content than the reader will find in Mr. Allen's book.

By 1860, a critical situation had arisen in American affairs. Because the Southern slave-owners were in control of the instrumentalities of the national state and, as a result, were thwarting the progressive advance of Northern capitalism, their claims to power had to be challenged. This the newly formed Republican Party did. The partial success of the Republican Party at the polls in 1860 drove the Southern leaders into a counter-revolutionary uprising. The Civil War broke out. The Union government—after the departure of the Southern legislators—was now wholly possessed by the Republican Party. But like all revolutionary hosts, it was divided into two groups: a Left and a Center. Lincoln was the leader of the Center; Stevens in the House and Sumner in the Senate were the leaders of the Left. The Republican Centrists looked upon the war as an opportunity to establish once and for all the domination of industrial capitalism over the state; hence, while they prosecuted the civil war (although never realistically), they also passed protective-tariff legislation, enacted a homestead law, chartered Pacific railways, set up a national banking system and authorized the admission of immigrant contract labor. The Republican Left—the so-called Radical Republicans—were not hostile to such legislation. (Mr. Allen at a number of points muddies the waters by implying that the class loyalties of the Radical Republicans were to the "middle class" instead of to the

industrial capitalists. They were not. Thus, Stevens and Greeley were high protectionists; and Stevens was as eager as any mercenary despoiler of the public domain to lay his hands on mineral lands for his own aggrandizement.) What differentiated the leaders of the Left from those of the Center was the real and unselfish devotion of the Radical Republicans (at any rate, this was true of the older Radical Republicans) to the cause of Negro emancipation and betterment. The Radical Republicans, therefore, were deeply hostile to Lincoln; and they prodded him constantly into adopting more advanced positions. They swung into direct action (Mr. Allen says very justly that they used dictatorial methods) when Johnson, Lincoln's successor, indicated clearly that he meant to readmit the seceded states into the Union without exacting any real guarantees for the maintenance of Negro rights.

Johnson was shouldered aside by Congress after 1867 and Reconstruction proceeded under the leadership of the Radical Republicans. A military rule was imposed upon the South—Negroes were given every encouragement to exercise the rights of citizens and voters; and there was established a group of state governments which wrote enlightened state constitutions and enacted progressive legislation in the interests of small farmers and producers. These Reconstruction governments erected public-school systems; they democratized local and county units; they created public social services (elementary, of course); they sought to distribute tax burdens equitably; and they began with state funds to build railway systems. Only on the land question—the confiscation of the great estates of the rebel leaders and their distribution among the landless Negroes—did these Reconstruction governments fail. And here the fault was not theirs but Congress's: for with the Civil War over, Congress faltered and refused to follow the lead of Stevens and Sumner in their efforts to establish full economic rights for the freed men.

Nevertheless, the whole Reconstruction effort collapsed. By 1871 a number of Southern states had already been "redeemed"; their former Bourbon masters were again in the saddle. And by 1877 Congress had withdrawn entirely from the South; the Negroes had been abandoned to the tender mercies of their former owners. Why was this? It is at this point that Mr. Allen's explanation is not convincing. He says, for example: "If they [the Southern Reconstruction conventions] failed to take more decisive action on the land question and more extreme precautions against members of the old ruling class, these were the weaknesses of a revolution led by a highly developed bourgeoisie which already felt the impact of new class conflicts and which at the same time suffered from legalism and constitutionalism." Mr. Allen's editor puts it more succinctly: "The author attributes the defeat of Radical Reconstruction to the vacillations of the bourgeois revolution and to the grouping of class forces in the nation." This is too obscure to be of any assistance.

For Mr. Allen has correctly evaluated the historical role played by the Radical Republicans. Energetic, resourceful, embittered men (they had gone through the cruel fires of the Abolitionist controversy before the Civil War broke out), they pressed every advantage the revolutionary tension afforded them: they voted to enthrone the capitalist class, for it was *their* class; but they also labored heroically in the interests of the establishment of Negro rights. Lincoln was opposed to the sudden and whole emancipation of the

¹ Reconstruction: The Battle for Democracy (1865-1876), by James S. Allen. New York: International Publishers. 256 pages, \$2.

Negroes because he feared to lose the support of the important border area; and to the end he looked forward to compensating the slave lords for the loss of their human chattels. But the Radical Republicans were ruthless. Over Lincoln's protests they passed through Congress the confiscation acts of 1861 and 1862. They drove Lincoln into issuing the Emancipation Proclamation. They established their own committee on the conduct of the war and hounded the President until he got rid of weak generals and was ready to prosecute the struggle relentlessly. They clamored, until they were successful, for the arming of the Negroes and their use in the Union's armed forces. Indeed, in 1864 the Radical Republicans were prepared to drop Lincoln when Grant's triumphs in the field made his renomination inevitable. Emancipation and the Northern victory (because the use of Negro troops was crucial) in a very real sense were the achievements of the dynamic and in fact possessed Radical Republicans.

There was no vacillation here. And yet the Radical Republicans abandoned three of the Southern states as early as 1871. The answer to this puzzle is to be found in the fact that they were no longer the same Radical Republicans. One must, in brief, distinguish between the Old Radicals and the New Radicals. The Old Radicals—Stevens, Sumner, Julian, Wilson, Wade, Chandler, Greeley, Schurz—had carried banners in the Abolitionist crusade. They carried over their deep-seated hatred of slavery into the Civil War and seized the opportunity the revolutionary tension afforded them to deliver yeoman blows in the cause of Negro emancipation. In Congress these had the assistance of New Radicals—radical in the revolutionary sense that they wholeheartedly believed in the rising star of industrial capitalism and therefore in the debasement of the South as long as their class economic and political program was in danger. These New Radicals were too young themselves to have suffered in the Abolitionist struggle. Negro emancipation to them was not a burning faith but a weapon. During the Civil War the New Radicals—Conkling, Blaine, Garfield, Sherman—supported the Old Radicals. When the Civil War was over, when Stevens was dead and Sumner and Julian silenced, the New Radicals proceeded with the work of Reconstruction. Thus, the Reconstruction period itself had two sharply different parts.

From 1870 on, it may be said that Reconstruction had as its purpose not the betterment of the Negro but the subjection of the South until the class representatives of industrial capitalism had completely established their control over the national state. In short, the reconstruction of the Southern states was a wholly temporary device used only until the New Radicals could find allies for the support of industrial capitalism's program in the West. By admitting new states, by extending the benefits of protective-tariff legislation to Western wool growers, by lavish grants of land to Western railways and by pork-barrel river and harbor legislation they succeeded. And the old Northwest was won away from the Democracy—which was threatening to reestablish agrarian control over the state—and safely added to the ranks of the Republican states.

With this political victory assured, with the state, in short, completely theirs, the New Radicals could withdraw their military and judicial support from the Negroes. At this point the Reconstruction era was formally ended. Industrial capitalism itself took up where its political representatives left off: there now began the peaceful industrial and financial penetration of the South with the assistance of the Southern Bourbons.

There still remains to be done a vast amount of work in this historical field: and to this extent Mr. Allen's book is only an outline, albeit a highly suggestive one. It is interesting to note that none of the writers on the Reconstruction period has examined its processes in the Northern and particularly in the Northwestern states. For the whole Republican Party was undergoing a profound transformation: and a study of the new forces at work in it as soon as the Civil War terminated will help explain much more satisfactorily than Mr. Allen has why Reconstruction failed in the South.

LOUIS M. HACKER.

Franz Kafka

The Trial, by Franz Kafka. Translated by Edwin and Willa Muir. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. \$2.50.

The Metamorphosis, by Franz Kafka. Translated by A. L. Lloyd. London: Parton Press. 3/6.

FRANZ KAFKA'S great allegorical novels have often been compared to "Pilgrim's Progress." But, in fact, they differ from any allegories written before because they do not set up a system of symbols which can easily be recognized as corresponding to some system existing in the real world, nor do they offer any solution, any "moral," as Bunyan does. I believe the fact is that Kafka saw the world much as he describes it in his novels, just as a man who feels himself to be persecuted sees reality fitting into a system, which is really of a spiritual order, to persecute him. Although we might not agree that the victim of persecution mania was persecuted, we might easily find that his systematization of reality gave us an exceedingly convincing view of reality, a view which at moments penetrated beyond reality itself to another final reality, the persecutors themselves.

We do, indeed, find that Kafka gives us just such a view of reality as would the victim of persecution. However roundabout it may seem, his approach to reality is direct: he is not building up an allegory in order to illustrate a metaphysic, he is penetrating reality in order to discover a system of truth. How often when reading his fantastic accounts of human behavior we find ourselves exclaiming not "how remotely that corresponds to something in life which we dimly see beyond it," but "how extraordinary, yet how true." For example, the disorderliness, the lack of dignity, the inappropriateness of the officials who are prosecuting K— in "The Trial" have the significance of monumental truth, because it is through these obstructions which are life itself that K— sees the good life, which these very irrelevancies, in being irrelevant, yet imperfectly represent.

What distinguishes K— from the persecution maniac is that he is the least important figure in his own universe, whereas the neurotic is, of course, the center of his universe, and persecution is the means which the world adopts to flatter his ego. In a sublime sense, K— is humble. This traveler whose case in "The Trial," or whose task in "The Castle," is of trifling importance, is a supreme outsider. He is not only ignorant of the way of life which everyone else accepts, he is ignorant of life itself. His love-making is not sexual, it is an innocent attempt to conform, to reach the center of life, a parallel to his spiritual journey. Just because he is an outsider he has the stranger's fresh view of life and the reality beyond life. That truth Kafka never attained: he only knew there was a truth. If he had lived, he might have written novels which started off from a goal, instead of these novels which never attain their goal.

"The Metamorphosis" is a strange and terrifying night-

mare, the whole plot of which is contained in the first paragraph. "As Gregor Samsa awoke one morning from a troubled dream, he found himself changed in his bed to some monstrous kind of vermin." The story describes, simply and straightforwardly, Gregor's attempts to adapt himself to this change, the attitude to him of his family and his employer, until finally, neglected by them all, he dies. It contains no metaphysical purpose, it is an account, in Kafka's terms, of a given situation in contemporary life: the situation, say, of a bank clerk, on whom his whole family has depended, who wakes up one morning to discover that he is suffering from an incurable disease.

STEPHEN SPENDER.

A Note about the Author.—Franz Kafka was born in Prague (1883) of wealthy Jewish parents and was educated for the law. But he got little chance to put his training to practical use, since he spent most of his manhood in tuberculosis sanitariums. He always wanted to travel, but ill health and the War kept him inside the boundaries of the Central Empires, except for a short interlude in France and northern Italy. In 1918 it seemed that he had happier prospects; his health had improved enough for him to move to Berlin, and he had fallen in love; but the privations of the post-war years drove him back into a hospital near Vienna, where he died in 1924, virtually unknown to the world. His writing was meant to clarify his own skeptical-mystic ideas and was not intended for publication. That it appeared at all was largely owing to the insistence of his friend Max Brod, who got permission to bring out parts of it during his lifetime and disregarded the will which specified that all manuscripts and letters should be burned after his death.—M. C.

Europa and Bull

Europa in Limbo, by Robert Briffault. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$2.75.

EUROPA IN LIMBO," a sequel to the author's earlier "Europa," has the same pretensions toward literature that the first book had; and both have about the same relation to literature that prostitution has to marriage. If literature is like a deep uniting friendship that is consummated in marriage, these books are like a pick-up on a rainy night. If literature implies a certain organic unity, these books have no form at all; and finally if literature grows out of profound human roots, these books like parasites do not reach into the earth.

The human family should be grateful that its members, whatever their weaknesses and contradictions, have not been created by certain authors. Imagine this planet inhabited by "Europa's" hero, Julian Bern, a Christ character sired out of Maurice Dekobra; by his love, the butter-won't-melt-in-her-mouth Russian aristocrat, Princess Zena; by that female jack-in-the-box, to say nothing of deus-ex-machina, the Flemish peasant girl Keetje, popping out as housemaid, popping out as spy, popping out as international adventuress with a heart of gold, popping out as *poule de luxe*, popping out as plain whore, whatever for the moment the plot requires.

Imagine further this trio, accompanied by other characters just as unbelievable, getting into every trouble that Europe got into in all the tragic years from 1914 to 1918, from air raids in London and the trenches on the Western Front, to a war prisoners' camp, to Petrograd, Moscow, to the bestiality of the Russian civil war, and then finally

back to cynical post-war London, and to let's have fun for tomorrow we die. And remember that, as in a Shubert revue, whenever you become bored with too much going on and are ready to doze off, the book will wake you up with a hot sex scene like a black-out, a four-letter word, or a situation so daring it could never have been used in a book before. All this in a book which purports to describe a continent in limbo because the class in power is destroying itself and the inheriting class is not yet ready to take over the power. The author is Robert Briffault, who was once known as a distinguished scientist, and the author of the famous work in anthropology, "The Mothers."

"Europa" was like a new girl in a fancy house. It was a sensation. "Europa in Limbo" won't be. It is like the earlier book, all sound and glitter, but now we know the jade's tricks.

NATHAN ASCH.

The White Man's Burden

Savage Civilization, by Tom Harrisson. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 461 pages. \$4.

THE NEW HEBRIDES are a group of islands that lie between Fiji on the east and northern Australia on the west. They are inhabited by Negroid Melanesians who are divided into numerous tribes that possess cultures which, though technologically somewhat simple, are very complex in their ritualistic aspects, especially in the ceremonial exchanges based on pigs. Some of these tribes are cannibals; all of them seem to have prospered until brought into contact with the whites, a misfortune that first overtook them in 1606, but became serious only in the nineteenth century, when the demand for plantation labor caused them to be raided for workers. As a result of these contacts, the population was reduced from an estimated million in 1800 to about 45,000 in 1935.

To these islands came young Tom Harrisson, on an Oxford University exploring expedition the aim of which was to climb the highest peak there. This accomplished, and his commitments as biologist fulfilled, he decided to stay on so as to learn more of the native cultures he had encountered, despite the fact that he was without funds. He "went native" as far as he could, which seems to have been pretty far, and experienced all kinds of adventures. But to this reader, at least, Harrisson's most exciting adventure was the intellectual one that he had when, in trying to get to the root of the conditions under which the natives live, he went into the history of their contacts with Europeans.

This book will inevitably be listed as travel—and there is some travel in it. It may also somewhere be listed as ethnology—for much is included concerning the lives of the people among whom the author lived. But it really should be classed as history, since its chief contribution lies in this field, and here is its most absorbing quality. When Harrisson discusses the developing tragedy of the inhabitants of his islands at the hands of the "blackbirders" and tells of the deceit they used to obtain laborers and how they left murder, rape and tribal death in their wake; or considers the sad results of well intentioned but misdirected efforts of missionaries; or the incompetence of governmental policy and of those in whose hands lay governmental power, he forgets for a time his "smart" prose, his verbal posing and his attempts to shock, and writes simply with an honest indignation that is the only possible reaction of an honest man to the facts concerning the treatment of these natives at the hands of those who call themselves "civilized."

A Service to MARRIED COUPLES Seeking the Secret of IDEAL MARRIAGE

"INCOMPATIBILITY" is given as the reason why so many marriages end in the divorce courts. What is the **REAL** reason? Are husbands to blame for the thousands of tense, nervous, distraught women? Or is the attitude of wives responsible for the myriads of critical, dissatisfied men? And—regardless of *who* is at fault—how can the true causes be corrected? Is there a way to find the secret of *Ideal Marriage*?

There is a way. And it has taken the form of a professional counsel from the physician who is probably the world's outstanding authority on marital discord and the various remedies for it—Th. H. Van de Velde, M.D., formerly head of the Gynaecological Clinic at Haarlem, Holland.

Dr. Van de Velde offers a lifetime of practical experience in his book **IDEAL MARRIAGE**. No doubt you have heard of this work—of its wealth of sane, humanly-written advice. Up to now, **IDEAL MARRIAGE** has only been available to doctors, lawyers, ministers, educators, social workers. Recently, however, changing conditions have made it possible to offer this book for sale to married couples. To those husbands and wives who feel an increasing lack of physical compatibility, but who remain devoted enough to wish to combat this menace to an otherwise happy and fruitful marriage, we believe this book will be a godsend.

A mutually satisfactory functioning of the normal adult instincts—that is the foundation of marriage. Husband and wife have every right to expect this from *their* ideal marriage.

But in order that their marriage may remain ideal, both partners must bring to it certain qualities—qualities which an alarming number of American husbands and wives possess in too slight a degree. And among these are tact, sympathy, and a willingness to study and learn the art of love, unhindered by any misguided sense of prudery or false modesty.

It is to teach these all-important requirements that Dr. Van de Velde writes. European-born and European-trained, he is naturally less restrained on the subject than most Americans. He sets his task to dispel the alarming ignorance, in men and women, of the technique of the conjugal relationship, and to set forth ways and means of attaining happiness and harmony in, and through, normal, healthy sex lives.

From long years of professional experience he describes, with rare understanding, common but frequently *unsuspected* sources of marital maladjustments; and he offers physical and mental methods of correcting them.

Perhaps the best way to realize more fully the vast scope of this book is to read carefully the Table of Contents below. This listing is but a *partial* survey of the Contents; yet it indicates clearly the fact that, although bound in the form of a book, this work may more accurately be described as a practical, usable *service* for all in search of the true secret of Ideal Marriage.

Over 150,000 copies of **IDEAL MARRIAGE** were sold in Germany during its first years of publication. Thousands of physicians in America have recommended this book to their patients. The American edition is unabridged, unexpurgated. Not a word or a diagram has been omitted.

To those who would seek in such a book simply sensationalism, we would prefer not to sell it. But for those who sincerely wish to attune their natures to marriage's rightful fulfillment, it will render genuine service.

TO WIVES whose dreams of a perfect marriage are fading—because they have become one of those millions of women whose "capacity" for love is being but inadequately fulfilled;

TO HUSBANDS who feel their marriage slowly drifting out of control—because of real or imagined difficulties in marital relationships;

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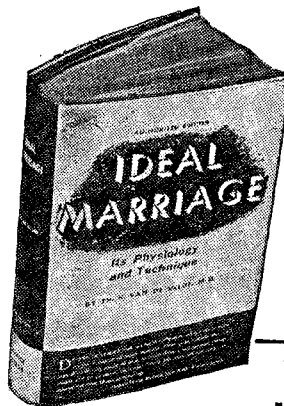
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In its organization, the book is not uninteresting. First comes an account of life in the village of Matanavat, in northwestern Malekula. There are some noteworthy passages here, such as the initiation dance, the ritual killing of a young boy, and the details of the pig economy. But the manner in which this material is written—one finds such phrases as "other so-eager-growings," or the use of "we" as though a native were writing—together with the serious lack of detail where detail is essential to comprehension of native tradition, makes this section fall far short of what it might have been. The second part, which is the bulk of the book, is historical, and here the keenness of this young man is really allowed to play over his material. His refutation of Rivers' hypothesis of "psychological death" as a cause of the depopulation of Melanesia and his disavowal of Lévy-Bruhl's hypothesis of primitive mentality are entirely convincing. His insight into the fact that these native cultures, where they have had any opportunity at all to hold the numerical strength of their carriers, have preserved their basic sanctions and not given way to white modes of life, and the even more startling revelation that once a certain immunity to European germ diseases has been attained the native population begins to increase, are contributions of the first order. The final part of the book, a description of Harrison's adventures among the cannibals on Malekula, is just another adventure story, interesting to the degree that the reader is interested in adventure. It runs quite true to form, even to the leg of the author that was nearly lost, and his picture—"emaciated" is the adjective—showing him being cicatrized with tribal designs. MELVILLE J. HERSKOVITS.

Planned Pioneering

40,000 Against the Arctic, by H. P. Smolka. New York: William Morrow and Company. 308 pages. \$3.50.

THIS BOOK is an account by a traveler in the Soviet North of the progress of the planned development of that region, of the life of natives there and the changes wrought in their lives, and of the conditions, physical and spiritual, of the many thousands of settlers who have moved in.

As a story of work actually begun or accomplished it may be considered as the second volume of mankind's two-volume work on the subject; it is the story of the fulfillment of a dream. The announcement of that dream—the prediction of the developments for which the regions of the North were ripe, the account of the North's rich resources and the plea that we do something about them—was made some years ago by Stefansson. That Stefansson in 1921, in his book, "The Northward Course of Empire," predicted such Arctic developments as are now under way in Siberia, that he even outlined a plan for a floating, year-round North Pole encampment, is less a secret than that his plans were vainly urged upon the Canadian government and upon Western capital.

It is significant in these days of controversy over the Soviet form of government that it is the Soviets who have become the pioneers. It becomes apparent to the reader of "40,000 Against the Arctic" that only the USSR, or another nation with a highly centralized form of government, could possibly have undertaken so vast a development. To the author of our book a Russian said:

You are right in pointing out that I, and not only I but almost everyone of this present generation in Russia, sows more than we will ever harvest in our

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own lifetime. But we know that our children will be much richer for it. You cannot measure the lucrativeness of any of our present enterprises within one generation. We are really nothing but a generation of good fathers.

It may be, one is brought to reflect, that the age of easy reaping of harvests for our own bellies is past, and that such far-sighted preparation for the harvests of future generations, as is the basis of the vast Soviet enterprise in the Arctic, is but a forerunner of the motives that will underlie the enterprises of the future, everywhere.

Mr. Smolka is a greenhorn in the Arctic; but as a greenhorn who finds the climate and the conditions of life and the methods of travel strange he is a good representative of the general public of readers. He sees things with their eyes. His curiosity is theirs. This has the value of presenting that country as it might be seen by most of us. He went to the Arctic prepared for hardships. He went overburdened with warm clothes, with special food, with medicines. He brought his warm clothes, foods and medicines back with him. He went, perhaps, too unprepared with knowledge of actual conditions of the North, and prepared too much to marvel at the human fortitude that could endure them.

That there is fervor in the Soviet masses, that the performance of their work is to some degree a religious duty, is attested by too many travelers in Russia to be doubted. Yet it is probably true that northern life has its own compensations and that even when the fervor of the construction period has abated people will continue to populate the North because they love its climate, its dramatic seasonal changes, and because it affords them as a part of daily life those exercises that many of us seek out in Switzerland, the Adirondacks and Idaho.

It is held a duty by our moralists to say that man should love his work. Under the Soviets it appears that many of them do. It is the business of our moralists to warn us constantly against the sins of the flesh. Under Soviet conditions, the warnings, it would seem, are not so necessary. We speak of incentive under capitalism—and exemplify it by the exploiters and gamblers who head our list of income-tax returns. The incentive of leadership, of consequent honor or high pay, does seem to operate under the Soviet system, even in the far reaches of its Arctic empire.

The author of "40,000 Against the Arctic" has no axe to grind. He is the common traveler inclined to skepticism. He is a good reporter in that by using his eyes, by prying where he pleased, by talking with officials, by talking with workers, he tried to come at the truth, in order that without the bias of an editorial viewpoint he might bring it home to us. That he was in no way hindered, controlled or spied upon, he testifies.

Certain reflections and conclusions will be forced upon the thoughtful reader: That the Arctic, the Arctic of Canada and the United States, still lies undeveloped we will at once, however reluctantly, attribute to the shortcomings of our social system. The vast preliminary outlay of capital that the developments in the Soviet Arctic have entailed, and that similar developments in our own Arctic would presumably entail, are admittedly beyond the scope of private enterprise. Nor is such half-baked enterprise as the Matanuska development in Alaska the answer. It lacks the background of a sound, coordinated plan of territorial development. It is conceivable that a fascist government might undertake the building of such an empire. And complete it—if no spiritual factor counted. But to us, living under a democracy when, today, the willingness of labor

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is increasingly presumed and depended upon, a project founded on coercion is untenable. It appears that in the Soviet Arctic it is the spirit of the worker immigrants and the good will and awakened energy of the native peoples that must share with capital and brains the credit of a great achievement and of aims still greater.

ROCKWELL KENT.

Case History

The Man Who Started Clean, by T. O. Beachcroft.
New York: Harper and Brothers. \$2.50.

BASED on an actual case, this extraordinary story deals with Edmund Thorne-Morton, a wealthy young Englishman who emerges from an automobile accident with the most complete case of amnesia known to science, his mind as blank as a new-born infant's. Since his intelligence, however, remains unimpaired, it is only a few months before he skims through the elemental processes of learning to crawl, to walk, to speak. By the end of a year, having combined the sincere wonder of a child with the intense self-consciousness of maturity, he is convinced of the rottenness of the world, and develops a profound antipathy to what he learns of his former self. The situation is hardly eased when he suddenly reverts to this old self, with no recollection of the intervening year. A period of oscillation between his two personalities follows, until an emotional crisis synthesizes them both into a normal being.

The author reproduces faithfully the details of the original study, but psychological soundness does not necessarily make for literary excellence. The second Edmund is an unabashed fellow who can perceive no better way of improving the world than through a solitary, back-to-nature existence between two hedges on a hillside; and the final compromise between his amorphous ideals and the stuffy devotion of the first Edmund to upper-crust traditions, is bound to disappoint. One feels that Mr. Beachcroft's talents used on a theme of his own would have produced a more satisfying,

if less startling, amalgam. The present book, for all the fragrance of pastoral scenes and sensitive love, retains too much of the musty odor of the psychology lab.

MIRIAM BORGENICHT.

Contributors

JONATHAN MITCHELL, who is well known to readers of The New Republic for his articles on politics and current affairs, lives in Washington, D. C.

MARY HEATON VORSE, journalist, short-story writer and novelist, has had a lifelong interest in the labor movement both as a participant and as a commentator. She is writing a book, "Labor Marches," on labor's new status.

RALPH BATES, an English novelist, is political commissar of the Fifteenth International Brigade. He has written two books dealing with the revolutionary movement in Spain, "The Olive Field" and "Lean Men."

EDMUND WILSON is the author of "Travels in Two Democracies," "Axel's Castle," "The American Jitters" and "I Thought of Daisy" and a book of plays, "This Room, This Gin and These Sandwiches."

LOUIS M. HACKER contributed a theoretical discussion of the Civil War in The Marxist Quarterly (April-June, 1937). His most recent book is "The United States: A Graphic History." Since 1934 he has taught Economic History at Columbia University.

STEPHEN SPENDER, whose collected poems have been printed by Random House, is the author as well of "Forward from Liberalism," "The Burning Cactus" and "The Destructive Element."

NATHAN ASCH has written several books, of which the most recent was "The Road: In Search of America," published last spring by W. W. Norton.

MELVILLE J. HERSKOVITS is professor of Anthropology at Northwestern University. He has done extensive field work in Dutch Guiana, West Africa and Haiti.

ROCKWELL KENT, the well known painter, has traveled widely north of the Arctic Circle and has written about the Eskimos.

MIRIAM BORGENICHT is a recent graduate of Barnard College and is now freelancing in New York City.

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